

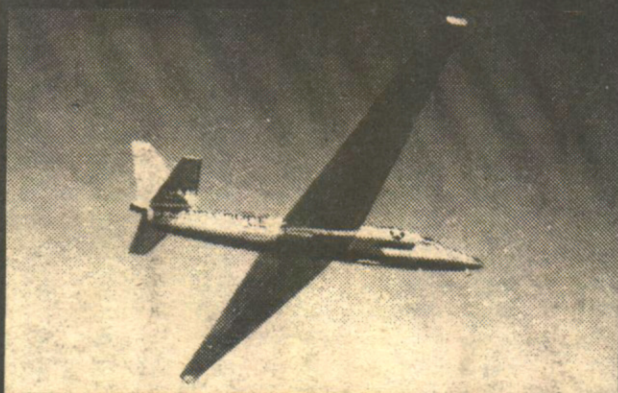
# IN THESE TIMES

Vol. 2, No. 19

March 29-April 4, 1978

50 Cents

## THE 50's AND THE 60's



PAGE 12

## THE FRENCH LEFT IN DISARRAY

**WHEN BUSINESS IS BAD,  
THE PARTNERS QUARREL**



**BY DIANA JOHNSTONE**

About the time the huge Amoco-Cadiz oil tanker was breaking up off the coast of Brittany, the Union of the Left was breaking up in the wake of the March 19 French parliamentary elections. It might offend the enraged

*(Continued on page 10)*



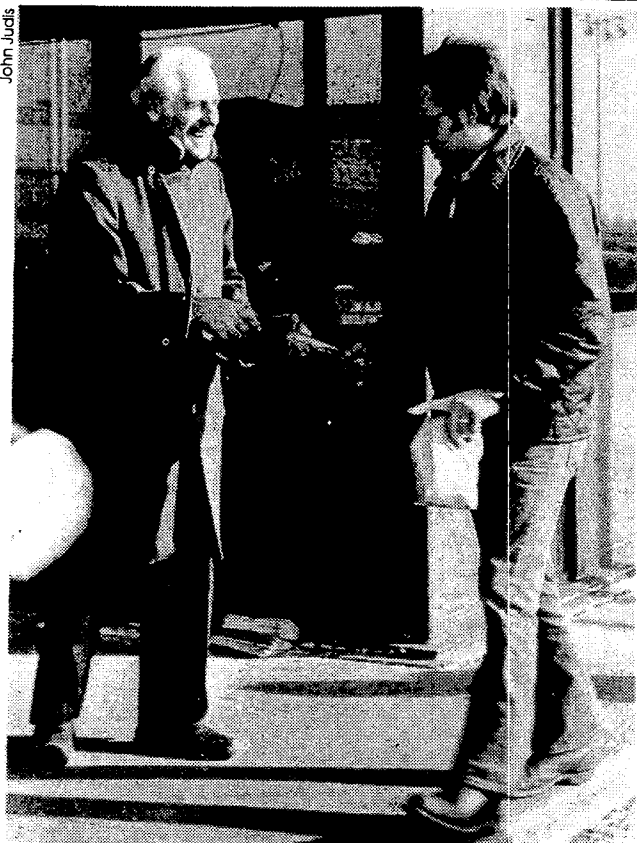
# BOOKS

A SPECIAL SECTION—PAGES 18-24



# THE INSIDE STORY

JOHN JUDIS



Don Lyon hands out leaflet at Belvidere Chrysler plant.

## New Right's Lyon roars in Rockford

There are some subtle political differences between the "new right" and the older Republican rightwing, but the main difference is practical and organizational. Beginning in the '50s with the formation of the John Birch Society, the new right has sought to duplicate what it sees as the organizing strategy of leftwing Democrats. With its lobbies, caucuses, and even secret organizations modeled after the American Communists, the new right has sallied forth with a new aggressiveness.

If Ronald Reagan and Jesse Helms are the main national spokesmen for the new right, Richard Viguerie, with his Virginia-based direct-mail operation, is as much as anyone its tactical leader. Through direct-mail to specially compiled lists garnered over the last six years, Viguerie has been able to raise millions for candidates, causes and such new right lobbies as the National Conservative Political Action Committee (NCPAC), the Committee for the Survival of a Free Congress (CS-FC) and the Gunowners of America (GOA).

Prior to Carter's victory in 1976, the new rightists were poised between trying to take over the Republican party and trying to set up their own conservative party. But with "moderate" Gerald Ford's defeat, the new right saw the door to the Republican party swing open. "Carter's victory hurt the Republican establishment," Viguerie told *Politick's* Saul Friedman, "but gave conservatives the reasons, the incentives and the opening to come together in the Republican party."

In the 1978 elections, the new right strategy is not only to support old friends like Helms and Strom Thurmond, but also to defeat Republicans up for re-election whom it sees as "Republican in name alone." Chief among these are northwest Illinois' John B. Anderson, the third-ranking House Republican, Massachusetts Sen. Edward Brooke, and New Jersey Sen. Clifford Case.

With the Illinois primary last week, the New Right had its first test. Anderson, who since 1960 has not had a serious primary of election-day challenge, was taken down to the wire by a fundamentalist minister-turned-politician Don Lyon, who received more than 42 percent of the vote in the most expensive congressional race ever run in Illinois' 16th District.

But while the election revealed certain weaknesses in the moderate Republican flank, it also showed that the new right has a way to go before it can capture the Republican party, let alone the nation.

### Lyon's New Right ties.

Illinois' 16th District stretches from the Chicago suburbs to Iowa; it includes Rockford, Illinois' second

largest city, and some of the state's richest farmland. It is at once urban industrial—Chrysler recently built a huge plant in Belvidere—and small-town and agricultural. Its small towns are fundamentalist and politically conservative. But the Rockford area, once a Republican stronghold, has been increasingly voting Democratic.

Lyon, 46, moved to Rockford in 1953 to found the Church of the Open Bible. He built the church into a center of fundamentalist religion, comprising its own school system, an FM radio station, a school of theology, and a mobile TV van from which Lyon produced a 30-minute syndicated broadcast "Quest for Life." In downtown Rockford, Lyon's church came to be called "The Church of the Open Wallet."

Lyon had never been involved in local politics, not even during the sex-education and busing battles that inflamed the Rockford school board in the early '70s. His candidacy seems to have stemmed from a personal desire to move on to higher places, coupled with a distaste for Anderson's "liberal" views on government and the family. But some outside inspiration from the national new right also seems to have played a role in Lyon's decision.

In July 1977, Lyon attended a Milwaukee seminar on how to run for office, organized by the Committee for the Survival of a Free Congress. The seminar leader was Britt Beemer, a consultant at the Adolph Coors-funded Heritage Foundation, a new right thinktank in Washington. In October, when Lyon announced his candidacy, Beemer left Washington to become Lyon's campaign manager, and the new right network formally entered the fray.

A Viguerie mailing of a letter signed by New Hampshire Gov. Meldrim Thomson Jr. netted Lyon an initial \$40,000, and contributions followed from the CS-FC, NCPAC, GOA, and the Conservative Victory Fund, the political arm of neighboring congressman Phillip Crane's American Conservative Union.

### A liaison of the Trilateral Commission.

Lyon's opponent John B. Anderson is, in current terms, a moderate Republican. No friend of labor, he has opposed both minimum wage and labor law reforms in 1977. He supported the deregulation of natural gas.

But as an ally of Henry Kissinger and member of the Trilateral Commission, Anderson supported foreign aid to countries like Yugoslavia and backed the Panama Canal treaty. In addition, he supported Carter's decision on the B-1. All this ired conservatives.

Anderson also put himself on the new right's hit list by opposing Henry Hyde's anti-abortion amendment, backing the Nader consumer protection agency, and accepting project budget deficits as facts of fiscal life.

During his campaign, Anderson relied on the support of Ford, Kissinger, and GOP chairman William Brock, all of whom visited Rockford to campaign for him. He waged a campaign designed to isolate Lyon as a pawn of radical extremists. "I do not regard them as conservatives," Anderson said of Lyon and his allies. "They are radicals in every sense of the word."

Lyon did his part to make Anderson's charges credible. He denounced federal aid to health and education. And he leveled exaggerated charges at Anderson that recalled McCarthy's "big lie" technique.

On the basis of Anderson's support for a 1968 law to outlaw the interstate sale-by-mail of long guns, Lyon pronounced Anderson a proponent of federal gun registration.

On the basis of Anderson's opposition to Bircher Larry McDonald's 1976 amendment to a legal aid bill that would have prohibited legal aid in cases involving homosexuality, Lyon branded Anderson a proponent of gay liberation. "I don't want anyone to tell me I have to hire anyone who is gay," Lyon told a TV audience.

And in speeches that might have inspired an IN THESE TIMES reader, but that provoked indifference among many in the 16th district, Lyon charged that Anderson was a "liaison between Congress and the Trilateral Commission" and wanted to sacrifice the Constitution for "one-world government."

At one point, Lyon also raised outcries when he betrayed the new right's campaign techniques. When a *Rockford Morning Star* reporter asked him whether he was simplifying complex problems, Lyon responded: "I'm told the best way to communicate with people is to talk to them on a sixth-grade level, whether they have a high school education or a college degree."

### From rightwing to "moderate."

By the campaign's end, Anderson had Lyon on the defensive. To a meeting of Republican women in Galena, Lyon insisted that he was a "moderate, middle-of-the-road conservative." When reporters questioned him about the John Birch society membership of one of his country chairmen, he responded innocently, in an echo of Barry Goldwater in 1964, that such people had as much right to support him as anyone else.

Right before the election, when I asked campaign manager Beemer, whom Anderson had described as one of Lyon's "hired guns," what his own new right connections were, Beemer responded, "I am not identified with any organizations of the new right." Perhaps because he wasn't sure whether I was friend or foe, he gave me as I was leaving a paper he had written last year for the Heritage Foundation on the need for revitalizing America's bomb shelter program.

Beemer also underplayed the issue content of the campaign in favor of a Carter-style anti-Washingtonism. "Most people are not concerned with the issues," Beemer told me. "It's not because one candidate is liberal and the other is conservative." The main issue was that "John Anderson has lost touch with us."

In this respect, the Lyon campaign showed the limits of the new right's most explicit politics. And this was also reflected in the divisions within the national movement that the Lyon campaign caused.

Buffalo congressman Jack Kemp, seen by some as the heir to Ronald Reagan's throne, came to Rockford in March to back Anderson. "It's more important saving free enterprise than pushing someone who does not strictly adhere to all the conservative positions," Kemp told an outraged *Human Events* reporter.

Ultra-conservative congressmen E.G. Shuster (R-PA) and Robin Beard (R-TN) quit the congressional advisory board of the Committee for the Survival of a Free Congress when it decided to give money to Lyon. "If people want to purge Republicans, there is a long list we should go after before Anderson," Shuster said.

### Success and failure.

By election day, Anderson had succeeded in polarizing the 16th District in his favor. While Lyon got a majority in the small towns and from well-to-do grain farmers angered at government price ceilings, Anderson captured over 70 percent of the Rockford vote and inspired a massive crossover of Democratic voters. He is expected to win easily in November.

But Lyon's 42 percent was not insignificant, and will have its effect, as it did during the campaign. In December and January House votes, Anderson had reversed his opposition to the B-1 and his support for the consumer protection agency. While these steps to the right may not console Lyon, they indicate a successful campaign to other new rightists.

"If John Anderson survived the challenge, it may force him to the right," Congressman Crane had told the *Morning Star*. "And to get people off the liberal kick they've been on is our main objective." ■

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# Tired, but still on the line

By Dan Marshall

CABIN CREEK, W.V. -- MAR 22

**T**HAT OLD PROPOSED CONTRACT wasn't any good from start to finish. If you even talked about a strike, the company could discharge you and make it stick. If it was any good to begin with, why did the union have to spend \$40,000 to try and sell it?" Gene Dunn, a member of United Mine Workers Local 750, asks angrily.

At 32, Gene Dunn looks at least ten years older. He was born and raised in this mountain hollow—a string of tiny coal towns that line Cabin Creek just east of Charleston, W.V. A coal miner for 23 years, he spends his working hours in "low coal," the three or four foot coal seams that predominate in southern West Virginia and other parts of Appalachia.

When it comes to the ever-present dangers of mining, Gene Dunn is an expert. At 21, he was buried in a mine cave-in and had his back broken in five places. After spending three months in the hospital, he wore a body cast for a year.

Like 160,000 other working UMW members, Dunn has been on strike for over 100 days. He firmly rejected the second tentative agreement negotiated between the union and the Bituminous Coal Operators Association (BCOA). Now he is scrutinizing the third, a copy of which was printed in the March 17 edition of the *Charleston Gazette*. This one looks better, though he says he'll wait until the official text is distributed by the union to make his final decision.

"From what I've seen, I believe this one will be accepted," he says. "I still don't like the way the pensions work. My dad was a miner for 45 years. Every miner should get the same pension. These are the men who made the union—we shouldn't do them wrong."

Dunn is referring to one of the new contract's most controversial provisions, which retains unequal pension benefits between those miners who retired under a 1950 pension plan and those who retired after 1974. The former receive a maximum of \$250 a month, to be immediately raised \$25 if this contract passes. The latter get up to \$475.

What about the new health plan that would compel miners to pay as much as \$200 a year for prescription drugs and physician care? (Hospitalization would still be free, as under the 1974 contract.) "I think the deductibles are good," Dunn says. "Maybe it'll stop some of these abuses. I know guys that get drunk on Sundays and don't feel like working Mondays so they send their wives down to the doctors to get a sick slip. Then they're back on Tuesday—they weren't sick at all."

## Could they do better?

Dunn is infuriated at the bargaining failures of UMW president Arnold Miller and other members of the union team, but isn't sure that they will do any better if this contract, too, is defeated. During the next few days, he will study it line by line, discuss it with his fellow miners, maybe attend a few rallies to hear the "no" side and go to a local union meeting to hear the contract explained.

A similar process is taking place among thousands of striking miners, who have withstood economic pressures, government intervention and media distortions in their quest for a decent contract. As they have considered the new proposal, a mood of grudging acceptance has slowly permeated the coal fields around Marmet, Beckley, Sophia, Madison and the other towns IN THESE TIMES has visited.

Though few miners are satisfied with the agreement, many think it will pass, because their fellow union members and families are hungry, tired of striking and frustrated with their union leadership.



**This contract is more rearrangement than improvement, say UMW local leaders. If it is ratified, it will be out of desperation.**

Many will still vote no, but the consensus seems to be that the pact will go over by a small margin.

"This contract is more rearrangement than improvement," Dewey Christian, president of Local 1054 in Cedar Grove, explains glumly. "If it's ratified, it'll be more out of desperation than approval. I know people who are in a desperate financial situation. They have to pay the payment or lose the car. They have to pay the payment or lose the house."

Christian has just finished chairing a union meeting where he and other local officers dissected the contract clause by

clause. He spelled out his reservations, pointed to changes from the last contract, and admitted candidly that some provisions would be tied up in court battles for years. Since this meeting was not nearly as loud and angry as the one dealing with the last contract, he expects his local will pass this one. But he will vote no.

He predicts that the miners will return to work under this contract, pay off their debts, "and then we'll live just like we've lived for the last three years. It doesn't solve the problems that exist between labor and management. And if we strike for six more months, I don't believe they'll

[coal operators] even know why we're striking." He expects wildcat strikes to break out again by August or September.

## Poor leaders.

Joseph Hodges of Local 6033 shares Christian's frustrations and belief that the miners are ready to return to work. He remembers the 1976 UMW convention, where delegates specified the bargaining goals desired by the union's rank and file: a local right to strike clause, abolition of the Arbitration Review Board and other demands not contained in any of the contracts.

"When we sent our leaders up there to Washington, they knew what we wanted," Hodges says. "We wanted equalized pensions and our health cards to stay the way they were. But they go and vote the way they want to. It doesn't matter what the rank and file think."

"It'll be ratified because the men are tired of sending their leaders up there and getting the same thing back. It's a bad situation when people are hungry. We've survived, but now people are tired and want to get back to work. It's a shame we had to be out for so long and get so little."

Hodges and Christian also complain that aspects of the contract are "hypocritical" and purposely misleading. While extreme penalties against wildcat strikers were removed from this version, it contains several clauses couched in vague, legalistic language and open to contradictory interpretations that stipulate that decisions of the Arbitration Review Board, the last step in the grievance procedure, are still applicable. Miners are particularly concerned about ARB ruling 108, which penalizes wildcat strikers and is in some ways more punitive than "labor stability" measures in the rejected contracts.

"Under ARB 108, if you're caught picketing or talking about striking, and the company can prove it, you're automatically fired. You can't even take it to an arbitrator. They didn't give us anything—they just made it look good on paper," says Hodges.

"If the contract is turned down," he continues, "the main factor will be this new health plan." The contract dismantles the industry-wide health program that the union won in 1947 under John L. Lewis, and enables companies to institute separate plans under private insurance carriers. Many miners fear that this change will make the union less attractive to those working in non-union mines and will eliminate one of the union's chief sources of nationwide strength.

"The coal companies just can't live with the fact that we've had the best health care of any of the country's three major industries," comments Dennis Spangler of Local 7086. "What's really going to hurt is living under insurance companies' claims and all the riders they'll put on our medical coverage. We haven't had to deal with such restrictions in the past."

As chairman of the local's health and safety committee, Spangler also worries about the effect of the contract's "bonus plan" clause. It allows companies to initiate production incentive plans, provided that a majority of those voting in a local approve and that the plans do "not lessen safety standards as established by applicable law and regulations."

"The bonus plans could tend to cut down on mine safety," he believes. "It's going to create problems. The men may be more careless about safety and the company will tend to be more lax. No incentive plan that would entice a miner to endanger his life would be worthwhile at all."

## A stronger union.

Despite the deficiencies of this contract, rank and filers and middle-level union officers see the unity and determination

*Continued on page 5.*



# IN THE NATION

## EMPLOYMENT

### A step for Humphrey-Hawkins

By Bonnie Potter

WASHINGTON

**T**HE HUMPHREY-HAWKINS FULL Employment bill passed the House of Representatives on March 16 without further dilution of its major employment provisions—even with the addition of 30 amendments. But the bill will have to fend off several crippling amendments in the Senate—and might conceivably not even come up on the Senate floor before Congress adjourns in September.

As passed by the House the newest incarnation of Humphrey-Hawkins calls for a general 4 percent unemployment rate by 1983, establishes for the first time in law the "right of every American to useful employment," and sets out procedures for attaining these goals.

The President would have to submit to Congress annually numerical goals for employment, unemployment, production, real income and productivity, along with the programs to achieve these targets.

The Federal Reserve would then be required to submit to Congress its annual

**People have no idea what we're up against in this Congress, say full employment lobbyists.**

monetary policies, and explain their consistency, or lack of consistency, with the President's program.

Finally, the House and Senate Budget committees would review the administration and Federal Reserve programs, and submit their own recommendations as part of the first concurrent budget resolution.

Critics complain that this latest version of the Humphrey-Hawkins bill, known as HR50, is too watered down to do any good. They say that 4 percent is too high an unemployment target, that the bill details no new programs or appropriations and provides too many loopholes—such as a provision allowing the President to "recommend modifications in the numerical goals and timetables" after the first three years of enactment.

Economist Bob Lekachman is unnerved by the bill's deference to inflation as "a major national problem requiring improved government policies," while former UAW economist Nat Weinberg decries the absence of the original bill's more extensive, participatory planning procedures.

"But people have no idea what we're up against in this Congress," says Jerry Tucker, a UAW lobbyist.

The heavily criticized 4 percent unemployment target almost became 8 percent during the House vote.

An amendment offered by New York Rep. Otis Pike would have changed the way unemployment statistics are computed. The amendment would have excluded strikers, those who had been unemployed for less than four weeks, those who have

jobs waiting, those who were seeking part-time work, and those who had quit their last jobs. Pike's theory was that those who "are not terribly unhappy being unemployed" should be excluded from unemployment figures. His amendment was defeated by five votes.

The bill's stated goal of reducing inflation was almost quantified as a 3 percent target, and the lack of new spending requirements was almost calcified into a balanced budget requirement.

According to AFL-CIO lobbyist Joe Uehline, the only damaging amendment that did pass gave the budget committees primacy over the Joint Economic Committee (JEC) in laying out congressional employment goals. As reported out of committee, the bill would have required the JEC to report an annual concurrent resolution detailing congressional goals for employment and economic growth before resolutions were submitted by the budget committees as part of the congressional budget process. But an amendment submitted by New York Republican Barber Conable reverses that order, with the JEC now submitting a "privileged" amendment to the budget committee's resolution.

Humphrey-Hawkins supporters sided with the JEC in this dispute over committee turf because the JEC has traditionally dealt with broader economic policy issues, while the budget committee is viewed more narrowly as an appropriations committee, primarily interested in matching programs to money rather than to goals.

Of the other amendments added to the bill, most were of minor importance, according to UAW lobbyist Tucker. Amendments that add the handicapped and veterans to targeted unemployment groups or insure the availability of daycare centers should not, he says, dilute the bill or decrease its chances of passage.

But only half the battle is over. A mighty battalion of lobbyists representing over 25 organizations from the AFL-CIO through the National Urban League, ADA, the U.S. Conference of Mayors, the National Farmers Union and the National Council of Churches will troop up to the hill for the bill's Senate mark-up April 10, and begin once more the process of fending off the crippling amendments sure to be added on the Senate side.

Is their enormous effort worth the mouse that many think HR50 has become? The lobbyists seem to think so.

Jane O'Grady, a former Clothing and Textile union lobbyist who now lobbies for the AFL-CIO, points to the "little" things the bill has to offer—an airing of Federal Reserve Board policies, a focus of national attention on employment problems as well as on an unemployment figure well below 6 percent. "With everyone applauding a drop in unemployment to 6.1 percent," she says, "we were getting dangerously close to public acceptance of a 6 percent unemployment figure."

According to Ellen Vollinger, one of the three staffers for the Full Employment Action Council, chaired by Murray Finley and Corretta Scott King, Humphrey-Hawkins must be seen as only a first step. Vollinger hopes the coalition will stay together to keep on pressuring Congress to come up with the programs necessary to make the 4 percent unemployment goal realizable.

And as far as Jerry Tucker is concerned, "Humphrey-Hawkins may not contain everything we want, but how many rounds can you sit out waiting for the millennium? A Humphrey-Hawkins," he says, "doesn't come around very often."

**Bonnie Potter is a reporter in Washington, D.C.**

## PRISONS

### Alabama activist fights for his life

MOBILE, ALA.—Just three days before he was to go to the electric chair, a black prison activist here won a 60-day stay of execution from the Alabama Supreme Court. Lawyers for Johnny Harris, who has changed his name to Imani, hope to use the 60 days from the March 7 stay to challenge the conviction that made Imani liable to the death penalty and to mobilize public support to stop his execution.

Imani was one of five black prisoners charged with killing a guard during a Jan. 18, 1974, prison rebellion at the G.K. Fountain Correctional Center near Atmore, Ala. The guard and a prisoner died after an assault on the prisoner protest by the warden and guards. Prison activists say that the dead prisoner, Chagina (George Dobbins), a leader in the protest, was murdered by prison guards in an ambulance en route to the Mobile General Hospital.

Imani was convicted and sentenced to die by an all-white, all-male jury in Bay Minette, Ala., on Feb. 28, 1975. Attorney General William Baxley, who prosecuted the case himself, asked the jury to convict Imani even if they didn't believe that he actually killed the guard, for which there was no direct evidence. "It is enough if you are convinced that he participated in the riot in which the guard was killed," Baxley argued.

Three other prisoners—known as the Atmore-Holmon Brothers—were given sentences from 31 years to life. A fourth was found dead in his cell—allegedly a suicide—before he could stand trial.

Imani, the first person scheduled for execution in Alabama since 1964, was sentenced under a Civil War-era statute that mandates an automatic death sentence for a prisoner serving a life sentence who is convicted of first degree murder.

Imani's supporters charge that his death sentence is a "political execution" in which "a man who neither intended nor committed murder has been sentenced to die simply on the basis of participating in a protest of prison conditions that were themselves later declared by the federal courts as 'unconstitutional' and 'cruel and unusual punishment'."



Tom Gardner  
**Bob Allison of Louisville, one of Imani's lawyers, argues against execution before the Alabama Supreme Court. The court gave them 60 days to make a case.**

In addition to continuing to challenge the murder conviction, Imani's lawyers are challenging the original sentence that put Imani in jail, received in 1970 in Birmingham. At that time Imani was charged with four robberies of very small amounts and one rape, charges that under Alabama law at that time could have resulted in a death sentence. Imani argues that his court-appointed lawyers failed to prepare his defense or even to call his alibi witnesses prior to his trial. Instead, he says, his lawyers told him that he could choose to plead guilty to the crimes, which he argues he did not commit, and receive a plea-bargained life sentence or he could go to trial and face the electric chair. Faced with no defense, Imani pled guilty and was given five life sentences by the judge. Imani later tried to appeal these sentences on his own from prison, but the appeal was dismissed with no hearing or investigation.

The Alabama Supreme Court has given

Imani and his lawyers 60 days to challenge his original sentences. It also gives them 60 days to bring Imani's case to public attention. The lawyers point out that last year the media kept a ghoully deathwatch over Gary Gilmore, but let Imani come within 72 hours of the electric chair without a word. In fact, a *CBS Reports* show aired only three days before Imani was due to be executed offered a special update on the death penalty a year after Gilmore's execution without a word about Imani.

The case has begun to attract some attention. Some coverage has appeared in the international press. Amnesty International is looking into the case and several members of the Congressional Black Caucus have expressed their concern to Alabama state officials. There have also been public protests in Alabama and other states. A defense fund has been established to aid in the case and to help pay legal costs. (Imani Defense Fund, Box 424, Atlanta, GA 30301.)



## ANTI-APARTHEID

# Protests greet Davis Cup games

By Craig T. Canan

NASHVILLE

**T**HIS SERIES OF PROTESTS WILL effectively isolate South Africa in the international sports arena and probably prevent the racists from playing in the Davis Cup for many years to come," said Dennis Brutus, chairman of the International Committee to End Apartheid Sport, at the end of a series of protests March 17-19 in opposition to South Africa's participation here in Davis Cup playoffs.

W.E. Hester, president of the U.S. Tennis Association, appeared to concur. Hester said that as a result of ever-increasing protests over the South African participation his organization "will not support South Africa in future Davis Cup tournaments." Hester said that the Davis Cup nations could remove South Africa with a 75 percent vote, and that the USTA would not block such an attempt as it has in the past.

Numerous protests have been organized here since it was announced that Vanderbilt University would sponsor the Davis Cup games between the U.S. and South Africa. Three days of protests accompanied the games themselves, highlighted by a rally of more than 6,000.

The protests focused on American corporate involvement in South Africa and on Vanderbilt's role in supporting the South African apartheid system through stock investments, as well as through its decision to host the tennis tournament.

David Huet-Vaughn, chairman of the Tennessee Coalition Against Apartheid (TCAA) told one protest, "If these corporate investments were withdrawn, the people of South Africa would have a genuine chance for winning their own liberation. As long as these corporations remain there supporting that regime, the people of southern Africa will continue to be oppressed and continue to live in slavery.... And so long as that is the case, then those who own shares in these corporations, and those corporations themselves, are implicated in this violence against the South African people."

## From all over nation.

The first day of the matches, March 17, over 3,000 people marched and rallied against apartheid in a demonstration sponsored by the TCAA and the Student Coordinating Committee, umbrella organizations of student, community and civil rights groups.

Students marching from Fisk University, Peabody Teachers College, Meharry Medical School, Scarritt College, Tennessee State University and Vanderbilt joined other protesters already picketing ticket sales at the Vanderbilt gym, shouting chants like "Chancellor Heard [of Vanderbilt], what's the word? Nashville's not Johannesburg!"

Demonstrators came from all over the nation, including contingents from Chicago, Denver, Boston, Atlanta, Ohio, New York, Florida, North Carolina and even California.

The enthusiastic picketing resulted in less than 15 percent of the 9,600 capacity gym being filled; only 1,200 spectators crossed the picket lines.

"It's not just a tennis match that we're protesting," said John Trautfeld, a part-time chicken rancher from Knoxville, Tenn. "We're protesting what we see happening to the oppressed majority in South Africa. We're demonstrating for freedom and democracy in South Africa."

Sporadic snow flurries made the picketing difficult, but Arthur Washington of Denver appeared to reflect the picketers' feelings when he said: "I just thought of the brothers in Soweto, South Africa, struggling for freedom and that gave me energy through the snow and cold."

**U.S. Tennis Association officials said that because of the protests they would not support future South African participation in Davis Cup games.**

While about a quarter of the demonstrators maintained picket lines at all four gym entrances, the remainder held a rally in the parking lot.

John Pike, chairman of the Student Coordinating Committee, told the crowd: "The Davis Cup protest is helping bring into focus the fact that it is the corporations here in the U.S. that are responsible for the economic problems the people of South Africa are having. Look at the Board of Trustees of Vanderbilt University and look at where Vanderbilt's endowment funds are invested. You'll see that the same people who are exploiting people in South Africa are the ones who are running Vanderbilt University."

"The mobilization that has taken place around the Davis Cup is going to provide the basis for a continuing effort to bring the university to sell stock in corporations doing business in South Africa," Pike concluded, adding that he feels there is a good chance that the divestiture movement at Vanderbilt will be successful.

Attempts to discourage potential protesters proved unsuccessful. Prior to the demonstration, hundreds of windows in late-model cars in black sections of Nashville were broken. The Ku Klux Klan announced that it would bring its forces to the demonstration, and an International Anti-Apartheid Conference at Meharry Medical College March 10-12 received several bomb threats. Local police, in addition, arrested or harassed people posting leaflets about the demonstration.

## A lower priority for NAACP.

On the second day of the matches, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) joined forces with the TCAA in a three-mile march from the state capitol to a park near the gym.

NAACP director Benjamin Hooks said that the march was not as large as originally predicted, simply because the NAACP had deemphasized it as a priority. "We could have organized busloads, caravans and plane loads of people to come to Nashville," Hooks said. "However, we decided that representatives of the chapters marching would make the point."

NAACP representative Charles Kimbrough told IN THESE TIMES that a national board meeting shortly before the demonstration had decided to "devote more resources to our energy campaign, and less to the Davis Cup."

After the march reached the park, many of the protesters, primarily those associated with the TCAA, marched to the gym to continue to picket the matches and urge spectators to boycott the games. Once again demonstrators outnumbered the approximately 1,400 spectators.

There were fewer pickets on the final day of the matches, March 19, as many demonstrators had to return home. Nonetheless, some 200 local people maintained a picket line.

One protester entered the matches and opened a banner in the middle of the playing court. Jerry Hornsby, a copy editor for the Nashville morning paper, told the spectators that "these matches are disruptive. Everyone attending is a racist and



Protests, like the faculty march above, began in Nashville almost as soon as it was announced that Vanderbilt would host the games, uniting students and faculty at all the schools in Nashville.

has blood on their hands for supporting white domination in South Africa." Hornsby was led from the court by police, but was later released without charges.

Dennis Brutus concluded a final rally by saying, "We have successfully made our point. The marches and pickets have fulfilled their function and we have helped win a victory. We will continue to organize, continue to struggle."

Brutus mentioned specifically an anti-apartheid conference to be held later in the year and a demonstration against an award that the National Conference of Christians and Jews has announced they will present to Vanderbilt Chancellor Alexander Heard on April 11 as "humanitarian of the year."

John Pike reported that "because of

the pickets, attendance for the matches all three days was just over 4,000." Vanderbilt had earlier said that it needed sales of at least 4,000 tickets every day to break even. The USTA, however, has reportedly released Vanderbilt from its \$50,000 guaranteed from ticket sales, so that the main loss to the school is a loss of prestige.

"We had people come in from all over the country and this is indicative that there is enough interest to begin a national coordination of locally-based anti-apartheid groups," Pike said. "We believe that the Davis Cup protest marks the beginning of a national popular movement against apartheid in South Africa, racism in the U.S., and the corporate system that is responsible for both."

Craig T. Canan is a writer in Nashville.

# Miners tire, but still out

Continued from page 3.

displayed during the strike as both a victory and an optimistic sign about the union's future. They deeply resent the way the mass media often depict coal miners as ignorant, violence-prone mountain men who are more concerned about their anachronistic customs than about the nation's welfare.

"I'm doing this for everybody," Gene Dunn emphasizes proudly. "Most miners feel that way. If they break one union, the companies will do the same to others. If they get us down, they'll bust those people working in factories next."

Dewey Christian agrees: "The AFL-CIO, the Autoworkers and the Steelworkers know that we are the granddaddy of the labor movement. If we fail, they know that they're next on the list."

It's in this framework that the miners understand the food, clothing, money and expressions of solidarity flowing to them from unions and other sources. The food and monetary donations have not been large enough to allow them to hold out indefinitely—in some places contributions have actually heightened divisions and resentments—but they have buttressed the miners' determination to keep going.

"All this support has helped morale terrifically," says Bobbie Regan, a member of Local 1750 in Morgantown, W.V. and a leader of the Miners for a Fair Contract. "The solidarity from other unions keeps miners from getting totally disgusted with the negative image of them

pushed by the media. It really helps to know labor is behind them."

Events during the strike have also alienated many miners from two far-away leaders: Arnold Miller and President Jimmy Carter. In the Charleston area, where Miller lived and worked for many years, miners seem reluctant to dump all the union's problems on his shoulders. They do concede that he's done a pitiful job, and that his union position is weaker than ever.

"This whole thing has hurt Arnold Miller very badly," says Spangler. "I don't blame him for everything. But he won't have the full power of the previous years. He's on a teeter-totter right now."

Carter is regarded no more highly. Many miners realize that his refusal to seize the mines is the result of corporate and political pressures. "I voted for Carter last time, but I won't again," vows Dunn. "He did the coal generation dirty this time. If he seized the mines, he would have seen all the money the companies are making. But Carter doesn't want to get on the money-men. He just wants to get after the low-class people."

While the miners may end up with a weak contract and go through another three years of frequent wildcats, the strike may have strengthened the union internally in the long run. "This strike has brought us back into unity," declares Ernest Moore, vice president of District 29 and a state legislator. "Coal miners have always been a group of people who took care of each other. Now we're stronger than we ever have been."



## CITIES

# NYC still teeters on the edge

By Josh Martin

NEW YORK

**N**EW YORK CITY WILL GO bankrupt June 30 unless the federal government provides loan guarantees for its bonds. The fiscal health of New York affects the entire country. Its budget is the third largest in the U.S.; only those of the federal government and the state of California are larger. And its notes are held by major banks and pension funds around the country. New York is a microcosm of the fiscal and other ills that plague urban America.

The Carter administration's fiscal rescue plan, unveiled by Treasury Secretary Michael Blumenthal March 6, offers the city a respite. Financial and urban experts ask: is it enough?

If speed were decisive the answer would be "yes." The Carter administration has acted faster than its predecessor. When New York City appeared ready to go under in 1975, President Ford and Treasury Secretary William Simon, were willing to let it go.

Soon after, Ford was forced to change his tune. It became apparent that if New York defaulted, so would several Republican-run cities, as well as some of the nation's largest banks. The financial community shuddered, and Ford acted.

Three years after that last minute rescue, New York City is again asking for help. Among the many causes of the latest fiscal crisis are: The short term (three year) aspect of the Ford-Simon plan, which ends June 30; the weak economy, which prevents the city from expanding its tax base; and the after effects of belt-tightening in which necessary capital expenditures were avoided or postponed for the sake of appearance. Time has caught up with the budget; certain conditions, like potholes, can no longer be ignored. Funds must be obtained.

Blumenthal unveiled a long range administration plan that would provide federal guarantees up to 15 years for as much as \$2 billion in long-term bonds, providing there was "a major lending contribution by relevant local parties"—i.e., state and city pension funds. The President called it "a very reasonable and very adequate" rescue plan. Mayor Ed Koch and New York Gov. Hugh Carey were alike in praising Blumenthal.

Two faults are immediately apparent. While the plan guarantees \$2 billion, New York City still has to sell another \$2.5 billion of long-term bonds to avoid default. The city originally had a fiscal crisis because of poor short-term financing. This plan also does away with federal seasonal financing, which covered New York's temporary budget deficits (this year's alone is expected to run close to a billion dollars).

Blumenthal has recognized that Washington needs New York as much as New York needs Washington. On March 7 he warned Congress that if New York City went bankrupt without federal aid, the value of the dollar abroad "would be worsened." Blumenthal also might have reminded Democratic legislators who control Congress that, whereas in 1975 municipal default would have bankrupted the nation's largest banks, in 1978 it would bankrupt large union pension systems—a backbone of Democratic campaign financing—that hold billions of dollars' worth of New York City bonds.

The most outspoken opponent of federal aid to New York City, Sen. William Proxmire (D-WI) maintains that the city is capable of getting funds from local money markets. However, major potential lenders—banks and union pension systems—say that they will make no further investments in City bonds without federal guarantees.

"There's a certain historical inevitability of dragging things down to the wire," observes City Councilman Henry



Treasury Secretary Michael Blumenthal, above, unveiled the administration's plan to save NYC from bankruptcy in early March.

Stern. "When you do that, it undermines people's confidence in the city. Every time you have one of these hair's breadth escapes from bankruptcy, it further undermines the city's credit standing."

In the middle of negotiations with the federal government city officials have also had to deal with the major municipal unions, who argue that their good faith and sacrifices over the past three years should be rewarded in upcoming contract talks.

The pension funds of these unions have been major purchasers of New York City bonds. Before the House Banking com-

mittee Blumenthal observed that from 1975 through June 30, 1978, the city's employee pension systems will have purchased \$2.65 billion of long-term bonds, "bringing their total holdings of such debt to 35 percent of their total assets." This percentage is far higher than that of the banking community, even before the 1975 fiscal crisis, and gives the unions an important bargaining chip to be raised this spring.

At the same time, any substantial increase in employee salaries or benefits would throw the city budget, and Blumenthal's rescue plan, out of whack. Pre-

sent union demands would increase the city's budget deficit by over \$400 million per year.

Even without major new costs, the \$14 billion New York City budget and the size of the budget deficit, are open to interpretation.

Felix Rohatyn, chairman of the Municipal Assistance Corporation ("Big MAC," a state-wide agency set up in 1975 to insure the sound marketing of New York City bonds), has warned of major differences between figures used by Blumenthal and those used by city and state officials. The city/state fiscal plan called for total financing of \$5.1 billion over a four-year period. The Treasury plan says only \$4.5 billion is needed (of which \$2 billion is to be backed by federal loan guarantees). Under Blumenthal's proposals, the federal government would end its seasonal financing. This financing presently helps the city out to the tune of \$1 billion a year in short-term aid. "The Carter administration's proposal inevitably implies either a curtailment of badly needed capital construction, further significant budget cuts or higher than forecast seasonal lending requirements," Rohatyn concluded.

Rohatyn, writing in the *New York Times*, praised Blumenthal for leaving his plan "open for future negotiations," adding somewhat ominously that "the next few months will tell the story on the more troublesome aspects of the plan."

City and state officials believe that Blumenthal's plan represents a symbolic step in the right direction, a political package designed to placate New Yorkers without offending administration supporters in other parts of the country.

## Transit workers threaten strike

By Philip Mattera

NEW YORK

**O**N APRIL 1 NEW YORK WILL be plunged into yet another crisis: the strong possibility of a walkout by the city's 34,000 public transit workers. No progress is being made in the contract negotiations and the Transport Workers Union has a "no contract, no work" tradition as strong as the miners'.

The showdown between the TWU and the Metropolitan Transportation Authority, the regional agency that supervises the city's buses and subways, will affect much more than the transit workers. It is widely acknowledged that the transit settlement will set the pace for the negotiations between the Koch administration and representatives of 200,000 other municipal workers whose contracts expire at the end of June. In addition, the settlement will strongly influence MTA plans for new fare increases and cutbacks in service, issues that have generated intense public conflict.

There has been growing unrest among public workers. Rank and file groups have been pressuring union leaders to oppose the wage freeze, reduced fringe benefits and changes in work rules.

Recent reports have called for the elimination of night and weekend pay differentials, reductions in sick leave and vacation pay, increases in employee contributions to pension funds, and the splitting of the working day so the MTA does not have to pay workers for "swing time" between the morning and evening rush hours. The MTA also wants to replace full-time employees with part-time workers in order substantially to reduce overtime and benefit costs.

The MTA also faces unrest among riders, who are increasingly enraged by deteriorating service and threats that the 50-cent fare could rise to as much as \$1.



A smiling settlement of the 1966 NY transit strike, which halted the city for 12 days. Will there be a repeat this year?

In recent years, under pressure from new corporate managers and the supposedly ever-present threat of bankruptcy, the unions have been forced to give up contract gains and to choose between more layoffs, speed-ups, and reductions in wages and benefits. At the same time, the unions have been coerced into investing huge chunks of their pension funds—the figure is already close to \$3 billion—in city notes and bonds, thus placing them in the unhappy position of being the city's "bankers." (The actual bankers, meanwhile, have been steadily dumping their New York "paper.")

This has generated an internal crisis in the unions. The leadership is facing increased opposition from rank and filers tired of austerity and irritated at the extent to which union heads cooperate with the financial junta running the city. This problem is particularly serious in the TWU, since the now overwhelmingly

black and Hispanic membership is growing further and further estranged from the old-time Irish leadership.

The transit situation in New York appears even more volatile than it was at the beginning of 1966 when the TWU walked out for 12 days, bringing the city to a halt. Mayor Koch and the Control Board are thus taking a big risk in their reported plan to tolerate a short strike.

The problem for Koch and the Control Board is compounded further by the possibility of an additional strike on April 1 by workers on the Long Island Railroad, a major commuter line into the city, and a walkout or lockout at the city's three major newspapers. New York may very well experience a replay of the coal strike, with Gov. Hugh Carey playing the role of Jimmy Carter and TWU head Matthew Guinan the unhappy role of Arnold Miller. ■ Philip Mattera is a writer in New York City.



## OCCUPATIONAL HEALTH

## Brown lung victims want action

By Bob McMahon

RALEIGH, N.C.

**A** LONG PROCESSION MOVED through the rain-swept streets here in North Carolina's capital, cars bearing signs proclaiming "Cotton dust kills... and it's killing me," or "Burlington gave me brown lung."

Some 200 retired textile workers, members of the Carolina Brown Lung Association, had come for a mass filing of workmen's compensation claims March 13. They were to file 160 new claims that day, adding to a backlog of nearly 300 brown lung compensation claims already awaiting settlement.

As they gathered to file at the N.C. Industrial Commission offices, the Brown Lung members held a press conference to denounce bureaucratic red tape and stalling tactics by the textile mills and their insurer, Liberty Mutual. The result of these tactics has been a delay of two years or longer in settling most brown lung compensation claims.

Before they left, the group had the satisfaction of a small but significant victory. N.C. Gov. Jim Hunt announced that staff previously cut from the Insurance Commission would be restored. Most of the laid off staff had worked with brown lung claims.

Restoring the staff cuts was another on a growing list of successes for the Carolina Brown Lung Association. In North Carolina the number of chapters has grown from three to nine, with a membership of over 1,000.

Brown lung, or byssinosis, is an irreversible, crippling disease of the lungs caused by occupational exposure to cotton dust. First described in medical literature over a century ago, byssinosis has been recognized for decades as a compensable industrial disease in Britain and elsewhere in Europe.

In the U.S., however, the existence of brown lung was almost totally ignored by textile manufacturers and the medical profession. As late as 1969 an industry publication, the *American Textile Reporter*, proclaimed, "We are particularly intrigued by the term 'byssinosis,' a thing thought up by venal doctors who attended last year's ILO (International Labor Organization) meetings in Africa, where inferior races are bound to be affected by new diseases more superior people defeated years ago."

Serious studies of brown lung in this country only began in the mid-'60s. In a recent survey Dr. Arend Bouhuys estimated that at least 35,000 cotton mill workers—over 10 percent of those employed in the industry—suffered disabling lung function caused on their job.

While now recognizing the existence of brown lung and sponsoring its own research into the problem, the textile industry continues to minimize its importance. Sadler Love of the American Textile Manufacturers' Institute recently claimed that only a very few—around 1 percent—of all cotton mill workers are affected by byssinosis.

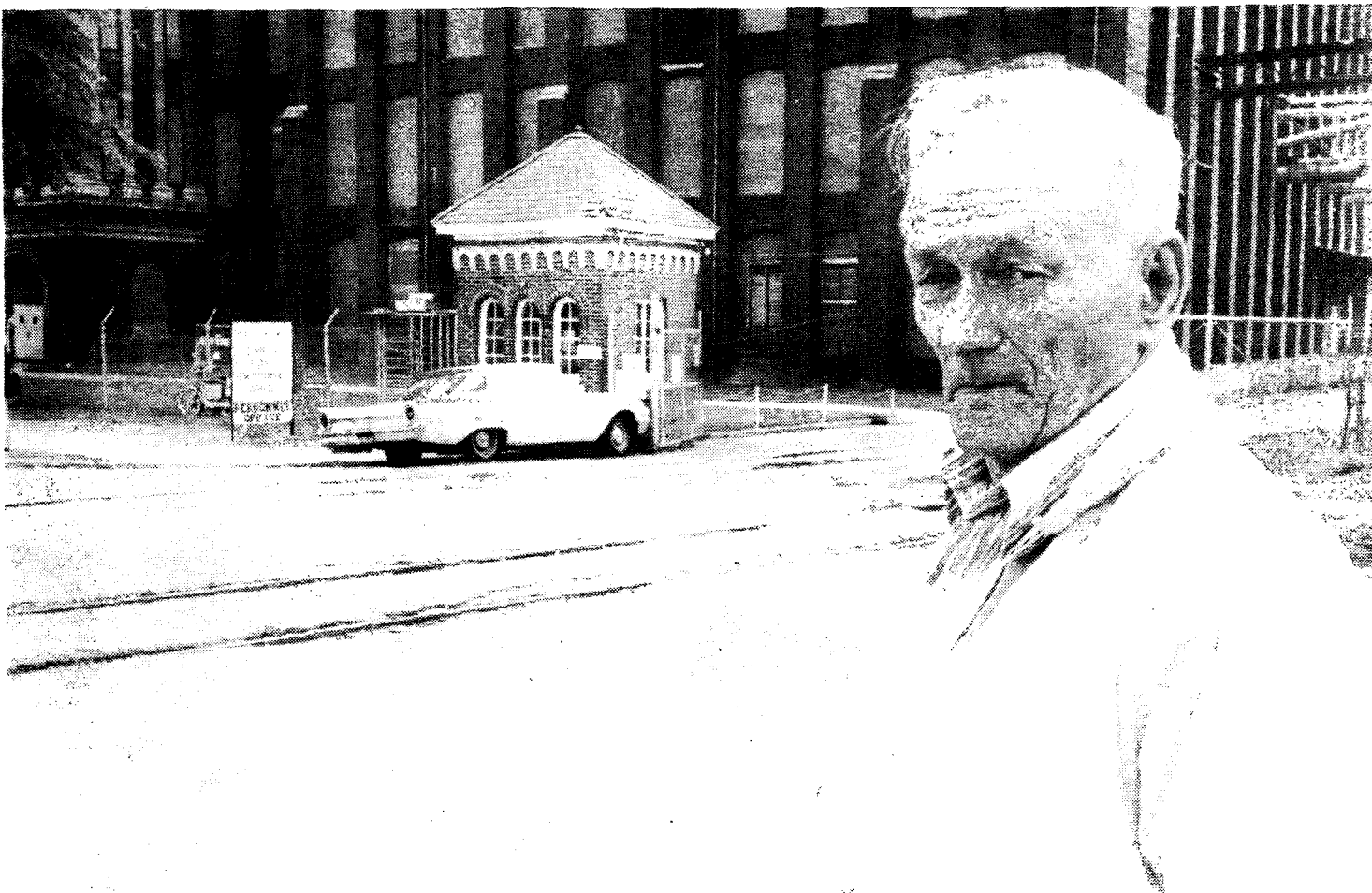
**Stalling tactics.**

When disabled mill workers file for compensation, they meet endless delays settling their claims. Allan Poteat, president of the Greensboro, N.C., brown lung chapter, noted during the March 13 mass filing that "some have already been waiting for over two years while the mill and insurance companies stall and fight us."

While only 1 percent of all workmen's compensation claims are contested, says William Stephenson, chairman of the N.C. Industrial Commission, 75 percent of brown lung claims are challenged.

Workers must go through a multiple set of hearings and medical examinations by one or more of a small group of specialist doctors recognized as competent to diagnose brown lung.

Industry spokesmen claim this is be-



Hollie Brazzell stands before Pacific Mills in Columbia, S.C., where he worked as a picker in the opening room. He can't go in any more because brown lung makes it difficult to breathe.

cause brown lung is extremely difficult to distinguish from asthma, emphysema or other chronic lung complaints and they do not wish to pay for illnesses not caused on the job.

**Blackmail.**

Brown Lung Association members have another word for industry tactics: "blackmail." Olive Pankey, president of the Rockingham, N.C., brown lung chapter, reports that "Whenever a brown lung chapter starts, the mills are calling back in people that they have known have had the disease for years. They tell our people not to get lawyers, not to work with the Brown Lung Association and they try to buy us off cheap and quick."

Last October the first member of the Brown Lung Association to have his claim settled, Otis Edwards, was awarded \$20,000. So far, 20 Brown Lung Association members have won settlements totaling \$277,500.

It took over two years to settle, Edwards reports. "Liberty Mutual"—the main compensation insurer for the textile industry—"used every trick to stall. They offered me money to settle, first \$4,000, then \$7,500. Each time they said that was the best they could do."

"I'm proud I held out," Edwards concludes.

Besides attempting to settle claims

cheaply, industry spokesmen have also publicly attacked the Brown Lung Association's screening clinics, the group's main method of recruiting new members.

Burlington Industries has warned its 33,000 Carolinas employees that free tests such as those given at the clinics may be inaccurate. Some Burlington workers have taken this as an order not to attend the clinics.

Association representatives note that the clinics are not intended to give a definite diagnosis but to give workers an idea of what they might have.

In Eden, N.C., Association members believe city officials tried to use a fire set in the local office as a pretext for harassing the group. (See accompanying story.)

Federal legislation co-sponsored by U.S. Senators Fritz Hollings and Strom Thurmond of South Carolina may offer some relief to the compensation tangle.

Under the bill workers would be presumed eligible for brown lung compensation if they suffered chronic lung disability after having worked five or more years in a textile mill.

**Cleaning the mill.**

Again and again, Brown Lung Association members note that compensation is only a limited goal. What they want most, according to N.C. Brown Lung Association president Lucy Taylor, is to clean up

the mills so that young workers coming on will not wind up crippled.

To meet this goal the Brown Lung Association has pushed for a strict federal standard on cotton dust levels in the mills.

Regulation of cotton dust by the Occupational Safety and Health Administration has been mired in politics. George Guenther, Nixon's director of OSHA, proposed inaction on cotton dust and other standards as a "bribe" to win support from business. The textile industry was one of the strongest contributors to Nixon's reelection campaign, and no action was taken on fixing a cotton dust standard until the summer of 1977.

"Before the Brown Lung Association started in our communities," says Pankey, "we were the forgotten shame of North Carolina. We are the people who have worked all our lives for the textile industry and the state of North Carolina."

"But when we got sick and couldn't work any longer, the textile industry and the state of North Carolina didn't want to be bothered with us.... The mills never educated us about brown lung and never told us we had a right to compensation."

"But now that we know," Pankey concludes, "we are going to fight forever to get what we deserve."

Bob McMahon is a free-lance writer in North Carolina.

## Arson destroys brown lung clinic

EDEN, N.C.—"I was spending the night in the office. About 12:30, while I was watching TV with a friend, a man came to the door and said the house was on fire."

"We went outside and found a trash can burning against the side of the house. We pulled it away from the house, then called the fire department."

"About 2:30, I was still watching TV, though I'd turned out all the lights in the house. I heard a crashing noise on the back porch."

"I threw on a coat and ran back around the house. Flames were shooting up from the porch, 20-30 feet high."

The fire discovered by Carolina Brown Lung Association staff worker Patty Dilley Feb. 19 was definitely arson, according to Eden fire department investigators.

At first the fire department denied that the arson had any "political moti-

vation or that it was aimed at the Brown Lung Association."

A few days after the event, saying they had changed their minds, the fire chief requested that the Association turn over all its records, or at least a list of all the people it had dealt with. Dilley and co-worker Audrey Oliver were asked to submit to lie detector examinations. Both refused.

The Association also refused to turn over its records. "There are many people in the community who would like to see that list," Dilley noted. "They would like to know who the active workers are in our files."

"Some don't want it known they visited the Brown Lung Association," Dilley said. "Having police and fire officials question all the members about the fire would be a good way to scare people away from the Association."

Norman Smith, lawyer for the

brown lung group, said that records probably could not be turned over without each worker's consent, since they include confidential medical information.

After the Association's refusal, the fire chief made only limited efforts to continue probing the Association. "He only visited about three people in their homes," Dilley said. "All of his questions were about Audrey and me."

If the firebombing of the office was intended to have a discouraging effect, it seems to have failed. "Only one member quit [after the fire]," Dilley said.

The Brown Lung Association opened a new office in Eden a few days after the fire. On March 14, 43 members came from Eden to file claims for compensation at a mass filing staged by the Carolina Brown Lung Association.

—Bob McMahon



## MILITARY

## Carter lies about arms sales

By Christopher Paine  
and John Markoff

WASHINGTON

**R**ECENT TESTIMONY ON Capitol Hill and a series of interviews with government officials, lobbyists and Congressional staff, reveal that the Carter administration's policy of arms "restraint" will not reduce American arms sales abroad this year.

"The President did not pledge to reduce the total amount of arms sales," Leslie Gelb, director of the State department's Bureau of Politico-Military Affairs, told the Senate Banking committee on Jan. 30. "What he said he would do, after he subtracted the exempt countries and construction items from the total, would be to reduce that figure."

Gelb was attempting to explain to the committee's skeptical chairman, Sen. William Proxmire (D-WI) why the President's "restraint" policy will result in government-to-government Foreign Military Sales (FMS) agreements worth \$13.2 billion in fiscal year 1978—an increase of \$2 billion over last year.

Gelb's testimony appeared to contradict a televised statement on the subject Carter made just two weeks earlier. "We are working vigorously...to reduce the deadly global traffic in conventional arms sales," Carter told the nation in his State of the Union address. "Our stand on peace is suspect if we are also the principal arms merchant of the world. So we have decided to cut down on our arms transfers abroad."

Privately administration officials express the view that significant cuts in arms sales are unlikely, however. Current economic and political trends, they say, do not favor such a cut:

- In the Middle East, which accounts for the bulk of foreign arms sales, American policy is guided, according to one high-ranking official, by "a clear historical and power concept" that involves the creation of well-armed "sub-super powers" to protect American interests in the region. When asked about the possibility of a unilateral arms cut to Iran, another official responded derisively, "Who in the neighborhood is going to applaud your move? Not Israel, not Saudi Arabia, not Britain, not France, not Sadat, nobody—just some Iranian students."

- The Congressional Budget Office estimates that foreign arms sales account for some 350,000 American jobs and the Department of Commerce reports that the dollar value of aerospace exports has been growing at more than three times the rate for industry shipments as a whole.

- A significant reduction in the global conventional arms traffic will require multilateral restraint, but in view of the economic importance of arms exports to the major suppliers and the overriding concern of the administration for global economic growth and stability, officials say the prospects for such agreements are "extremely dim."

**A host of exceptions.**

The apparent duplicity in the administration's position is attributable to the host of "exceptions" built into the new policy. In May 1977 Carter announced a new set of controls that he said would be applied to "all transfers except those countries with which we have major defense treaties [NATO, Japan, Australia, New Zealand]."

He undercut the stated purpose of his policy even further by stipulating, "These controls will be binding unless extraordinary circumstances necessitate presidential exception, or where I determine that countries friendly to the United States must depend on advanced weaponry...to maintain a regional balance."

One of the controls was a pledge that the U.S. would not be the first country to introduce weapons of increased sophistication into a region. By July 1977 the administration had announced a \$1.3 bil-



lion "exception" to this policy—the sale of Boeing AWACS aircraft to Iran. This was followed by the approval of the General Dynamics F-16 for Israel and the announcement of Saudi intentions to purchase the McDonnell Douglas F-15. All three aircraft represent, in Carter words, "significantly higher combat capability."

The administration has already begun preparing the ground for the Saudi sale by pointing out to the Congress that the F-15 does not represent a new higher capability in the region because Israel already has the plane.

A key element in Carter's arms transfer policy statement was his declared intention to reduce "the dollar volume of new commitments in FY 1978 from the FY 1977 total." Carter reiterated this policy at a July 1977 press conference, stating "that in '78 and subsequent years there will be an overall reduction in sales."

At the same time, Carter has exempted from inclusion under the ceiling—based on last year's sales of \$12.4 billion—direct contractor-to-foreign country "commercial sales" of some \$1.2 billion; transfers to NATO and other treaty allies worth another \$1.2 billion; and "non-weapons-related items" (primarily Saudi military construction) of \$1.5 billion. This leaves a preliminary ceiling control figure of \$8.8 billion, which the administration has "adjusted for inflation" to yield a final ceiling of \$9.3 billion, some \$3 billion less than actual sales last year.

After noting that there was "some confusion" about "what the ceiling is and how it is defined," Under Secretary of State for Security Assistance Lucy Benson told the House International Security subcommittee that the administration intends to come in 8 percent below the \$9.3 billion ceiling in 1978 by excluding an additional \$4.3 billion of estimated sales that are not by definition within the ceiling. Of this sum, "\$1.7 billion is for exempt countries" and "\$2.6 billion is for non-weapons related construction in

Saudi Arabia."

Total arms sales this year are slated to reach \$15 billion—the Carter administration has simply defined out of existence a startling \$6.7 billion in American military sales.

**Remain largest exporter of arms.**

Under Secretary Benson revealed the true direction of Carter's arms sales policy before a defense industry audience last December. "I have every expectation," she said, "that we will remain the largest arms exporter in the world for the foreseeable future."

Carter's restraint policies also do not affect a \$31 billion backlog of orders accumulated prior to FY 1978.

The carryover effect is also visible in the Foreign Military Credit Sales Program, where deliveries are continuing despite congressional prohibitions against such human rights violators as Uruguay and Nicaragua.

Even if the Carter administration somehow manages to keep FY 1978 sales to "non-exempt" countries below the ceiling, some officials contend the reduction in dollar volume will not necessarily mean fewer weapons transferred. The annual sales figure, they say, can be trimmed below the ceiling by not making the usual multi-year package deals and selling on a year-by-year basis instead. The actual timetable for delivery of American weapons into foreign inventories will be largely unaffected.

In his May 1977 policy statement Carter promised an amendment to the International Traffic in Arms Regulations (ITAR) "requiring policy level authorization by the Department of State for

actions by agents of the United States or private manufacturers which might promote the sale of arms abroad."

But in response to industry criticism the administration considerably relaxed the final version of the language governing industry contacts with potential export customers. Arms salesmen are now only required to obtain prior State department approval for actual contract negotiations. Advertising, demonstrations and salesmanship leading up to the final sale can continue as before.

The administration has also decided to cancel the requirement for State department approval of maintenance contracts on equipment already sold on the export market, leaving defense firms free to negotiate technical assistance contracts directly with foreign clients.

The picture emerging in Washington is that nowhere in the Carter administration has there ever been an intention to roll back the total dollar amount of arms sales. The Carter policy was formulated in an attempt to rein in the worst excesses and restrain the rate of growth of sales.

Despite Carter's assertions that arms sales would henceforth become an "exceptional" instrument of foreign policy, most administration policymakers still feel that arms transfers remain a key method by which military alliances can be cemented and "sub-superpowers" can be groomed to play a stabilizing role in regions that fall within the American "sphere of influence."

Christopher Paine and John Markoff are freelance writers in the San Francisco Bay Area. Research for this article was supported in part by funds from the Military Audit Project, Washington, D.C.

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# IN THE WORLD

## FRANCE

# Back to the ghetto and into the soup for French left

By Diana Johnston

PARIS

Continued from page 1.

History to compare the two disasters, but they produced a similar sense of disgusted *deja vu* among working people who would again have to pay for the mess made by others. Recovery could take a while.

On election night, the leader of the union of the left's third partner, the left radical movement (MRC), Robert Fabre, was first to abandon the scuttled ship with an announcement that he no longer felt bound by the Common Program. The big partners, the French Communist party (PCF) and the Socialist party (PS), got to work the next day blaming each other for the debacle.

On March 23, the PS issued a statement attributing the left's failure to win to its disunion, "deliberately provoked by the leadership of the Communist party, whose only concern was to try to reduce the Socialist party's growth even though that was one of the engagements for a joint victory. By multiplying his attacks against the socialists, George Marchais did the right a service and postponed the time of change. It is up to working people to draw the lesson of that behavior."

The PCF retorted, with what triumphalism it could muster, that "the bourgeoisie failed in its project...of weakening the Communist party." Still, it acknowledged that the results were disappointing. But "the French Communist party does not bear any responsibility for that situation," it asserted. The fault evidently lay with the PCF's partners who apparently "believed their party strong enough and their own victory sure enough to consider themselves no longer bound by the commitments" of the Common Program.

### Back to the ghetto.

The PCF could at least console itself that with a final total of only about 19 percent of the vote, slightly less than in the last parliamentary election in 1973, it had increased its number of deputies from 74 to 86—augmenting its proportional share of the 491-seat national assembly. But the PS, whose overall vote in the second round rose to over 28 percent, advanced only from 95 to 104 seats. The PS thus came out under-represented, because many of the new votes it won were in districts firmly held by the right, whereas the PCF consolidated its strength in longstanding left-wing strongholds. It was the under-representation of the Socialists that accounted for the much wider gap in seats—290 for the right and 201 for the left—than in percentages—a final 51 percent for the right and 49 percent for the left.

If hanging onto its traditional fifth of the electorate and enlarging its parliamentary delegation was really all the PCF leaders wanted, as some suspected, their satisfaction could scarcely be shared by militants and sympathizers who had been promised so much more and were now faced with the prospect of being sent "back to the ghetto" as a result of the divisive campaign. *Le Monde* commented that "it will be harder from now on for the Communist party to conclude agreements with parties on its right." But it has no other strategy to turn to.

The PCF is being harassed from its left

In the wake of their defeat, Socialist Francois Mitterand tried to look toward the 1981 elections. But the Socialists are more divided than ever about the Union of the Left. Communist expression of satisfaction at the results could scarcely improve the situation.

by the Trotskyist groups, notably Alain Krivine's Revolutionary Communist League (LCR), which is also in pretty bad shape. The LCR was counting on a left victory, which it figured would raise workers' morale and set off a new cycle of struggles. It ran soldiers as candidates as part of a campaign to unionize and politicize draftees to keep the army from using them to put down the workers or overthrow the forthcoming left government.

Seeing the prospects of a 1936-type revolutionary climate fade, the Trotskyists in recent months, rather ironically, became the most ardent champions of union, criticizing the PCF harshly for the rupture, while at the same time continuing to point out the insufficiencies of the reformism of both parties. The LCR has evolved into a role somewhat comparable to that played by *Il Manifesto* in Italy in recent years, apparently trying to catch the ear of Communist party militants to point out contradictions and pitfalls in the party line, but with no clear strategy of its own, and with no independent base in popular movements of a new type. Reduced to trying to stimulate challenges to PCF leadership in the party's rank and file, the LCR may face serious dissension in its ranks, notably from its women members.

### Into the soup.

Hardest hit by the elections was the Socialist party, which appears likely to come apart at the seams. Despite opposition from Jacques Chirac's right-wing *Rassemblement pour la Republique* (RPR), which holds the lion's share of the victorious center-right majority, President Valery Giscard d'Estaing is expected to eventually try to lure Socialists into his project of a center-left coalition. The more right-wing socialists, such as Marseilles' boss Gaston Defferre, could probably readily be enticed to "go into the soup," as the French put it, for a taste of government power after 20 years in the wilderness.

The big question for politician-watchers was the outcome of the factional battles within the Socialist party. The leadership was obviously trying to keep the lid on by turning attention to the 1981 presidential election, hoping to mobilize the party around the candidacy of Fran-



UP.

cois Mitterand. But he may be challenged by Pierre Mauroy, who came out of the elections strengthened in his northern power base around Lille. There are rumors that Mauroy might wrest control of the party from Mitterand by making a deal with the increasingly rebellious CERES left-wing minority.

CERES leaders headed by Jean-Pierre Chevenement refused to endorse the March 20 statement blaming Marchais for the defeat and instead called for a party congress aimed at patching up the Union of the Left around an updated Common Program.

While the CERES was criticizing the PS for insufficient commitment to the economic projects of the Common Program, Michel Rocard criticized its neglect of "qualitative" issues. This neglect was indeed flagrant. Ecology and feminism were two "qualitative" issues that the PS might have been best placed to exploit.

As it was, the first-round ecology vote largely went to right-wing candidates in the second round. Of the mere 18 women elected, only one was a Socialist. Twelve were Communists. The PCF ran half a dozen women candidates in districts considered safe, whereas other parties continued the practice of putting their few token women candidates in districts where they could be expected to lose graciously.

### Stodgy and adventurous.

The significance of the left's defeat is hard to judge because the left itself—the left of the parties—seemed more and more insignificant as the tiresome campaign wore on. The defeat came as an anti-climax. It had been clearly foreshadowed since the rift between the PCF and the PS last September. Only the public opinion polls, showing a left-wing majority, had artificially pumped life into hopes that really died months ago. Perhaps the polls meant that people wanted a left—but not that one.

The elections could be seen as the end of a decade of effort by the Socialist and Communist parties to channel the political enthusiasm generated by the May '68 events into electoral victory. As the channel narrowed, the enthusiasm required for any bold change got left behind.

The important aspect of the May events was not the publicized street battles, but

the widespread "taking of power" by people where they worked, whether in factories, schools or such obscure fiefs of anonymous administrative power as libraries and museums. May gave a new lease on life to the hope for revolution. Not a replay of 1917 or some other past revolution, but a new sort of do-it-ourselves, cheerful revolution suitable to a modern society. Those who took part got a glimpse of what "socialism" should be all about.

Continuation of these novel experiments ran into all sorts of obstacles. May's enthusiasts mostly fell back to more conventional left-wing demands. The Communist party explained that you can't have a revolution without a program. In 1972, the PS and PCF agreed to the Common Program. Since then, the prospect of a left victory in 1978 has helped keep things quiet in expectation of more favorable conditions.

Designed to be the left's voucher of credibility, the Common Program became less credible the more it was discussed in the PCF-PS quarrel. It kept the left's campaign largely tied down to purely quantitative issues, such as the minimum wage figure. The government budget became the central issue. This was the terrain most favorable to the right, with its apparent mastery of financial matters.

By sticking too closely to bread-and-butter issues, the left managed to appear both stodgy and dangerously adventurous. Promising growth and blaming all France's economic ills on the right-wing government, the left evaded the big problems of worldwide economic reorganization people knew it would have to come to grips with to carry out its reforms. Its approach seemed about 40 years out of date, and the lack of bold imagination was not, in fact, reassuring.

The party leaders could believe that the relatively calm social scene was favorable to their election by lulling the fears of conservatives. But on the other hand, people can have real confidence in major social changes only when they feel directly involved in the process. The absence of vigorous grassroots movements, as well as the quarrels of party leaders, broke the momentum of the left. How to get it going again is a puzzle that seems far from solution.



## WORLD ECONOMY

## U.S. vs. Europe dominates trade talks

By Bruce Vandervort

G E N E V A

**T**HE MOST IMPORTANT NON-UN forum for trade negotiations among the market economy countries is the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), founded on American initiative in 1947 and based in Geneva. GATT's aim is the eventual establishment of free trade through negotiated elimination of tariff and non-tariff barriers to commerce.

On a day-to-day basis, GATT helps settle trade disputes between individual member countries. In addition, its Geneva secretariat organizes periodic conferences of its members—called Multilateral Trade Negotiations (MTN)—to bargain across-the-board reductions in tariffs and other trade impediments. In GATT's 30 years, a series of such MTN "Rounds" have taken place. The "Kennedy Round" ended in 1967; its successor, the "Tokyo Round," began in the Japanese capital in 1973 and is scheduled to wind up in Geneva this July.

The "Tokyo Round" took as its priority "to secure additional benefits for the international trade of developing countries so as to achieve a substantial increase in their foreign exchange earnings, the diversification of their exports, the acceleration of the rate of growth of their trade...."

But that was in 1973, before the oil price rise and the current worldwide recession. As the MTN "Tokyo Round" nears its end, Third World concerns are nowhere close to the top of the list of negotiating priorities. All the action is elsewhere. The European Economic Community (EEC) is preoccupied with its huge trade deficit with Japan and has followed the American lead by sending negotiators to Tokyo to put the arm on the Japanese.

### Racing George Meany.

The U.S., meanwhile, has served notice that its main objective at the MTN is to break down EEC barriers to American products, especially foodstuffs. In fact, the whole MTN exercise is rapidly taking on the look of a settling of accounts among the "Trilateral partners," the U.S., the EEC and Japan.

There is little doubt about what the Amer-

ican negotiating team is up to. As one American delegate put it, "We're engaged in a race for time" with George Meany and the protectionist lobby in Washington. The Carter administration believes that the reflation of the Western economies, not a massive recourse to protectionism, is the best long-run solution to the crisis of unemployment and economic stagnation. So, if its crucial EEC trading partners won't reflate voluntarily, then they will have to be forced to. That is the

curb its barriers to American goods. While American delegates have slammed a whole host of "restrictive" EEC trade practices, from value-added tax breaks for exporters to direct state involvement in trade (government-owned British Steel being offered as an example), their main target has been the EEC's protectionist Common Agricultural Policy (CAP). On this front, the U.S. negotiators have resorted to the time-honored tactic of "whip-sawing," using gains made in one

This scheme has won some support from the developing consumer nations, especially those who are traditionally dependent on American supplies, like Egypt and India.

Enter the "whip-saw" tactic. The U.S. has let it be known that it might be persuaded to accept world price ceilings on the so-called "coarse grains" (barley, corn, rye, sorghum) if the EEC would withdraw its controversial proposal on wheat. Reliable sources believe that the real purpose of this offer is not so much to save the wheat talks from ending in a deadlock as to gain a bargaining counter to be used at the Multilateral Trade Negotiations going on down the road—to knock a hole in the EEC's Common Agricultural Policy that can be widened in the GATT forum.

Whether or not this tactic will succeed is, for the moment at least, unclear. France, the EEC's leading agricultural nation and the only EEC net grain exporter, regards any abridgement of the CAP as a death warrant for its farmers and can be expected to fight to the end to keep American wheat off the protected European market.

What is fairly clear, however, is that whoever wins the "Trilateral showdown," there won't be much of the cake left for any of the other 100-odd participants in the MTN. U.S. Assistant Secretary of the Treasury Alan Wolff, in a major policy speech in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia, on Feb. 3, told Third World exporters what they could expect. "The United States will strongly oppose any form of special and differential treatment which discourages trade liberalization by preserving margins of tariff preference. We will, however, support special and differential treatment in the form of our commitment to include, to the maximum extent possible, products of special interest to developing countries in an agreement to reduce tariffs."

Wolff, also the architect of the U.S./Australian walkout threat in early February, went on to suggest that the best hope for Third World trade expansion lies in the full recovery of the Western economies. In other words, in the success of U.S. efforts to prise open the EEC trade door and shove reflation down Helmut Schmidt's throat.

**Bruce Vandervort** is a Geneva journalist who writes regularly for *IN THESE TIMES* on international economic issues.

## At the latest Geneva trade talks, the U.S. is trying to persuade Europe to lower its tariffs on U.S. goods, but so far Europe is balking.

meaning behind the American delegation's recent heavy verbal attacks against EEC trade policy at the MTN talks, as well as the early February threat of a joint U.S./Australian walkout unless the EEC agrees to bargain cuts in its levies on foreign agricultural produce.

The hope is that the Europeans will agree to open the doors to an increased flow of American goods, thus enabling Carter to report to labor and the protectionist lobby that a production boom is in the offing. This would take some of the steam out of the protectionists' main rallying cry, that Washington's liberal trade policies are costing American workers jobs.

So would accomplishment of the second main American objective at the MTN: to escape in July without committing the American government to anything more strenuous than a 40 percent tariff cut spread over ten years. Since U.S. duties average 10 percent on most imported items, this would mean a drop of about 0.5 percent per year from present levels over the next decade—not a sweeping reduction.

One can imagine the ensuing scenario: Carter telling Congress that agreeing to 0.5 percent a year isn't exactly opening the floodgates and, besides, it wins time to put together some sort of program to help out the industries hardest hit by imports.

But all this will go a-glimmering unless the U.S. convinces the EEC to drastically

set of negotiations to influence another.

### Whipsawing.

Was it just happy coincidence that the International Wheat Council decided to negotiate a new International Wheat Agreement (IWA) in Geneva while the MTN is in session? The wheat discussions, scheduled to end on March 23, provided Washington with a forum for a direct onslaught on the EEC's Common Agricultural Policy. At issue in these talks is an EEC proposal for a ceiling on wheat prices, fixed at a level below its own price. This would stop world prices from reaching a point where its import levies would become inoperative (the CAP duties are based on the difference between world prices and the EEC's own artificially inflated rate). This happened in 1973, when the Soviet Union's wheat harvest went bust; scarcity induced by big Russian purchases pushed world wheat prices above the EEC level and opened the European market to American exports.

The EEC is trying to sell this approach to Third World grain importing nations as the best means of keeping world wheat prices low. So far, this view has gotten backing from key developing country importers like Algeria and Brazil and, more importantly, the USSR.

The U.S. has countered by successfully lining up all of the big wheat exporters against the EEC position and by proposing that a massive food aid package be written into the new wheat agreement.

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## MIDEAST

# Begin may finally have gone too far

By David Mandel

**H**AS THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION now been sufficiently jarred by the latest round of Mideast violence to press Israel to accept a comprehensive settlement involving withdrawal from the occupied West Bank, Gaza, Sinai, Golan and now, southern Lebanon?

This is the most relevant question as the melodrama set off by Anwar Sadat's November initiative continues to unfold.

Although at the time his speeches and gestures seemed more aimed at the Israeli public, the Egyptian leader has since repeatedly stressed the U.S.'s "indispensable role" in mediating his initiative to success. Sadat was not naive enough to believe he could fully transform Israeli mass consciousness singlehandedly.

However, in his heady rush to prove himself a loyal U.S. ally, Sadat seems to have committed the same miscalculation Israeli leaders have often made: Taking American support for granted and failing to see America's wider interest in the region.

The U.S. was initially cool to Sadat's initiative, not because of its content, but because opposition by other Arabs threatened to undermine the carefully laid Kissinger-Brzezinski plans to consolidate a pro-U.S. conservative axis, meant to include Syria, Saudi Arabia, Jordan and perhaps even PLO "moderates" as well as Egypt and Israel. Eventually reconciled to losing Syria and the Palestinians for now (Brzezinski in December: "Bye-bye PLO"), the U.S. was still content to let the pace of events slow down. A peace concluded too quickly could take people's minds off the national conflict and lead them to expect the "economic benefits of peace" that Sadat has promised before the region's economies have been restructured to insure the domination of western capital.

## PLO unites Israelis.

Just before the PLO attack on the bus, which left over 30 Israeli civilians dead and set off even greater Israeli violence against civilians in Lebanon, pressure—both internal and external—was finally beginning to mount on Begin.

Debate was raging in early March over his government's settlement policy; for the first time ever, with the ruling coalition itself divided, clear public and parliamentary majorities were taking a stand against all extensions of settlement in the territories, let alone ambitious plans for massive colonization advocated by extremists. Hundreds of twelfth-graders (about to be drafted) and reserve soldiers signed petitions calling on the government to respond more favorably to the peace initiatives. Hundreds more expressed support after the petitions were printed in the press. And rumors abounded that Begin would finally face American pressure during his scheduled trip to Washington.

The terrorist attack could not have been better timed if its aim was to take the pressure off Begin. The indiscriminate attack on civilians removed much credibility from PLO claims that it remains committed to peace with the Israeli people and merely sought to derail a political settlement that threatened to leave it out. Israeli public opinion was immediately galvanized in support of any military action the government might choose to take, and even world public opinion was relatively tolerant of what it took to be a "retaliatory raid."

## Occupied Lebanon.

But Israel's invasion of South Lebanon is proving to be much more than "retaliation." Most observers seem to accept at face value Chaim Herzog's claim before the UN Security Council that Israel "has no territorial designs on Lebanon" (reminiscent of Abba Eban's similar statements in June, 1967), but there are ser-



A grim Menachem Begin and Jimmy Carter meet at the White House March 21.

ious indications to the contrary.

Historically, many Israelis have quite openly set their eyes on fertile South Lebanon. The Litani River is a more "natural" border than the previous low ridge, they say, and the area includes the largest of the Jordan River's three main sources, indispensable to Israel's water supply. Should the occupation continue, it would not be surprising to see attempted Israeli settlement in the region.

Immediately with the invasion's opening, there began a loudly-orchestrated campaign in the name of a few scattered Christian villages near the border, "begging" the Israelis to stay. The campaign was actually begun last year, when Israel armed rightist Christian troops in the region and even fought alongside them against PLO forces, thus subjecting the Christian towns to battlefield status. (During the main Lebanese Civil War of 1975-1976, the south was quiet.)

Finally, Israel seems to be doing its best to foster an exodus of Palestinians and other "unfriendly" civilians from the area; it has learned something of the hazards of ruling a large and organized occupied people since 1967. A March 21 *New York Times* article puzzled over the invaders' military strategy: Why did the Israelis push northward so slowly, letting the PLO troops escape ahead of them, instead of cutting off all bridges over the Litani, thus trapping the guerillas and finishing them for good, the reporter asks?

Apparently, Israel did not want to cut off the hundreds of thousands more refugees who are fleeing the fighting, even

though this strategy risks vulnerability to continuing Palestinian guerilla action and a new "war of attrition." And now there is no electronic security fence, which was fairly effective in preventing infiltration across the old border.

Nor does Israel seem terribly concerned—as many assumed it would be—with not provoking the Syrians, who occupy the north bank of the Litani. Syria has been provoked. It must now choose between cracking down on the Palestinian forces as they retreat northwards, or risking a war with Israel if "attrition" fighting continues. Israel is confident that with Egypt neutralized it can handle any challenge from the north.

This does not mean that Israel will definitely continue to occupy South Lebanon, though it may try to extract concessions on other issues if forced to retreat. The government would like to keep the new land just as it would like to keep as much of the other occupied territory it can get away with. Those who benefit from cheap labor would certainly hope to maintain at least economic dominance.

Most of the public still believes that in the absence of peace, more territory is better than less. The faulty logic of this argument has still not sunk in, though the Israeli left is doing its best to point out that the latest terror attack came via the Mediterranean, which cannot be occupied, and that it probably could have been prevented altogether had Israel expressed a willingness to include the Palestinians in negotiations. Despite the desperate resort to this indiscriminate armed

attack, even the former "rejectionist" wing of the PLO has by now accepted the political demand of Palestinian independence alongside Israel, not in place of it.

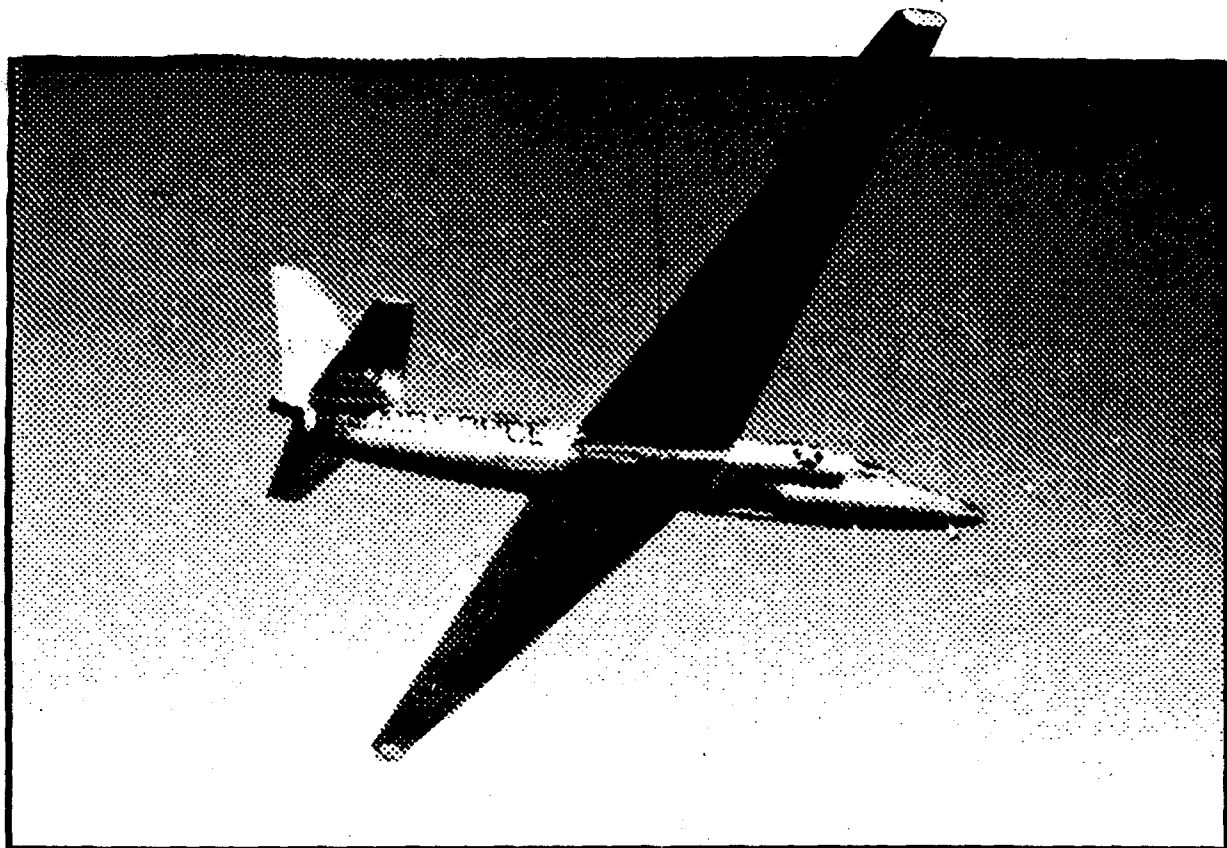
No further occupation of territory can eliminate Israeli vulnerability to small but bloody armed raids, as long as there are Palestinians willing to undertake them. Nor are expanded borders very meaningful against planes and missiles of modern warfare. Today, Israel's military prowess can guarantee another major military victory. But this cannot bring "security," just as 1967 and 1973 did not. For the means to fight continuous wars, Israel remains dependent on outside backing, and thus is still extremely vulnerable to outside pressure, potentially wielded most effectively by the U.S., its chief backer and supplier. Carter has hinted that this time he will confront Begin. Will it happen this time? Has the U.S. been sufficiently shocked out of its recent complacency to the extent that fear of full-scale war and potential superpower confrontation will outweigh the "go-slow" interests?

The answers to these questions are still unknown. But in case anyone still had doubts, it should be clear now that even hints at a separate Israeli-Egyptian deal can wreak havoc in the region. As long as the Palestinian people are denied the opportunity to exercise their right to self-determination, they have the power to disrupt any settlement attempted over their heads.

David Mandel recently returned from Israel and is living in New York City.



# THE 50's AND THE 60's



"...I saw the condensation trail of a plane looking for me. I knew he had to be supersonic, but I could fly much higher than he could. That gave me a sense of security and well-being..." Francis Gary Powers

By David Moberg

**A**S A TRUSTING, NAIVE, REPUBLICAN junior in high school, I was shocked when grandfatherly President Eisenhower admitted—after numerous denials I had dutifully repeated—that the U-2, shot down with Francis Gary Powers aboard, was indeed a spy plane deliberately flying over the Soviet Union. Spies were Russian, weren't they? And didn't all American Presidents take the sacred George Washington cherry tree oath?

That was 1960, the start of a decade that has since been encapsulated as a powerful symbol of political and cultural rebellion, competing for personal allegiances and public dominance with that other time/culture capsule celebrating imperial America, "the fifties."

The U-2 incident is not an inappropriate start for the '60s. Other assumptions—about unbeatable American power and technology, the menace of worldwide Communism and the desirability of a secretive "national security government" superseding a public democracy—were soon to be shot down as well.

Powers was the quintessential "fifties" man, the pilot of a high altitude jet crisscrossing the world at a presumably safe distance through the marvels of American technology. He carried with him a suitable symbol of American wealth and power—a silver dollar with a special poison needle hidden inside. The poison would permit the spy to hide—later the code word would be "cover up"—as much evidence as possible. It also permitted him to avoid confronting a nasty reality. This pathological condition had been raised in the '50s to the status of national virtue.

Despite his fear of the ruthless Ruskies below, Powers passed up his chance at personal obliteration. He was never sure why. "I guess," he said, "it was just 'wait and see what happens.'"

A lot did happen. More and more official America came to resemble the U-2 incident—anti-democratic governmental secrecy, manipulation of public opinion, deceitfulness, abuse of power, faith in technological supremacy, paranoid politics, a flight from world reality. There have been so many repeats of the U-2 affair that high school juniors today are not surprised by official corruption, corporate domination of government, exploitation of people here and abroad by Amer-

ican business or systematic distortion of events in the media.

In the early '60s, enough people believed—as I did—the inflated rhetoric about America's greatness and goodness that their expectations were high. When the truth came out, their disillusionment was deep. Fueled by their outrage, they fought to change, or fled from, the expanding nightmare. Young people today may not like what they see in government, business and the military, but many are likely to respond with a shrug of the shoulders as Chicagoans do when they hear of another case of ballot box stuffing. "What else would you expect?"

The '70s have not been an innocent time, nor particularly hopeful. For both those who dreamed of an "American century" and those who dreamed of a second American revolution, these years have been difficult, confused, intractable. In the search for direction forward a battle is developing over the meaning of the two dominant images of our country since World War II—"the fifties" and "the sixties."

Much 1950s nostalgia has portrayed the decade as a fun-filled, kooky sit-com, complete with canned laughter and smiling black domestics. Even the once-hated "greasers" are now portrayed as benign. Yet there was another '50s that was "more an era of fear than fun," as historian Douglas Miller and journalist Marion Nowak remind us. At its best, American life was, in their words, "prosperous, stable, bland, religious, moral, patriotic, conservative, domestic, buttoned down." Anti-communist paranoia permeated every pore of American society; the only refuge was the newly packaged life sold by increasingly powerful giant corporations.

Millions of people—not yet too cynical or turned off—on the other hand, recall "the sixties" with fondness as a time of awakening, commitment, excitement, community and even heroism, despite attendant horrors of death and destruction. Yet there is also a rising chorus dismissing the '60s as a decade of disaster and savagery. Like Daniel Bell, an old conservative-liberal moving farther right, they see the period as a revolt against reason, a self-centered "redemption of senses from the mind," a "democratization" (bad word to Bell) of genius that undermined "elite" (good) taste, and a dream of infantile pleasures.

The conflict over the meaning of these images—decades ripped from the stream of history and judged like fashions in clothes—centers on dominant sensibilities.

Although the '50s represent the political right clothed as near-universal consensus and the '60s represent the political left, the sensibilities of these periods are not precisely political ideologies.

A sensibility defines everyday perceptions and preoccupations, perspectives and practices that become almost second nature. They are less than ideologies, for the aims embodied by either sensibility are quite vague. They are also more than ideologies, for they set a tone and disposition that not only define life's high points and celebrations but also diffuse throughout routine regimens.



Art Shoy

## 1950 FUN-COATED FEAR AND THE SENSUALITY OF THE MARKET

The sensibility of the '50s reflects the cold war conservative-liberal political consensus.

In the years after World War II, the polarization of world politics provided an anti-communist rationale for expanded military production and the American assumption of the mantle of chief imperial power. Intense domestic witch-hunts crushed not only political groups on the left but also virtually any dissenting voice.

From church pulpits, university lectures, TV picture tubes and the halls of government there was a celebration of America as the marvel of the ages. America had unlimited power and wealth. Remaining problems would soon be sucked up by the better vacuum cleaner a scientist surely would invent. "Peoples' capitalism" had transcended capitalism and socialism, wiped out social classes and pro-

vided the necessary commodities for "the good life."

Politics—disputes over who gets what, when and how—had been banished in favor of moralisms of absolute right and wrong. The crusade against communism, outwardly a universally shared moral imperative, ironically created within the citadels of political power a completely amoral, unrestrained opportunism in the exercise of power unchecked by politics.

As a complement to this moralism, American life became psychologized. There was an obsession with "deviancy," "delinquency," "mental illness," and "adjustment." The social order was given, and each should find his or her place in it—housewives to the kitchen, daddies off to work, kids minding the rules at school. Any departure was evidence of immorality or "sickness."

Fun was pursued as obsessively as money, which of course was needed for fun. Yet the pursuit was equally a flight—a flight from fear, a flight from guilt at not fitting the required mold. Should doubts arise, the answer lay in "the power of positive thinking."

A bland social Christianity sanctified American institutions, blessed the Cold War and provided an "upbeat" vision of American progress. Intellectuals celebrated America, while castigating themselves for any past seduction by leftwing heresies. The wish for everything to be all right was as intense as the fear that the dream of suburbia, superhighways and TV diversion would be upset by deviants or, more sinister, by traitors.

Such a precarious consensus, overlaying deep fears, made Americans almost willing dupes for anything their corporate and government leaders told them (the reverse of their fears of being a "dupe" of the Communists).

When worries surfaced about the destructiveness of nuclear weapons or the problems of radioactive fallout, officials systematically suppressed research that questioned nuclear safety and the government launched its "atoms for peace" project to encourage everyone to "love the bomb." In the "bomb culture," political decisions—even moral decisions—were to be left to experts who had technological competence. Only they really knew and could decide what was best.

The Presidency, whose office had been growing rapidly, became increasingly a secretive government within the government, with little accountability to the people. This secret government justified every subversion of democratic principle



and outright lie as necessary for the preservation of the very democratic institutions it undermined.

Americans' attachment to this conservative-liberal consensus and their fear of traitors and deviants reflected the shallow, insecure character of American culture. Before World War II America was still very strongly a nation of immigrants. Regional variations were marked as well. "Americanization" had always been a pressing task for ruling powers, but it took on new importance after World War II when the country's earlier traditions of individual property-holding were invalidated by the rise of the great corporations.

In the '50s America's power elite sought to fashion a new, national, corporate culture and identity for America. Tired of decades of trauma from depression and war, many Americans were receptive.

Wielding anti-Communism as a club in one hand and beckoning with advertising, personal credit buying and planned obsolescence in the other, the corporate leviathan shaped a way of life based on a sensuality of commodity consumption.

Direct sensuality, unmediated by a convertible from the showroom floor or a pack of Marlboros, was as forbidden as discussion of politics. As a result, much of popular entertainment turned towards evocations of sadism and greed, TV westerns or cop shows and quiz programs—the gun and the dollar, as Miller and Nowak sadly observe. Both were sacred symbols of the '50s sensibility, which pretended to the highest social rationality imaginable, while barely concealing its irrational and contradictory core.



Madeline Sneider

1960

## THE LAST SHALL BE FIRST AND THE FIRST SHALL BE LAST

The '60s sensibility was, in many ways, an inversion of the '50s. Such cultural inversions are common during periods of social strife—from the Diggers and Levellers of seventeenth century England to the Diggers of San Francisco. In a country that worshipped wealth, the trappings of poverty became a sign of rebellion. In a country obsessed with "positive thinking," an onslaught of "negative thinking" was revolutionary.

Yet much as the '60s sensibility broke with the '50s, it carried on some shared values and—partly because it was so often defined simply in terms of inversions—it was often trapped by the outlook it opposed, just like Br'er Rabbit with the tar baby.

British journalist Godfrey Hodgson, in his remarkable synthesis of American history over the past several decades, sees the civil rights activists of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee as "improvising a style and defining an ethic for a generation."

"For an ethic of success," he writes, stressing the cultural inversions, "they substituted an ethic of honesty and courage.

Their style was not by results but by existential action. They found that it was sometimes more important not to call the jailer 'sir' than to register voters.... They replaced their neat college clothes with denims and workshirts. They romanticized poverty in their revulsion from a system that knew how to produce great wealth but not, apparently, how to end great injustice. Gradually they came to reject most of the Conventions and values of that system. There was a highly moralistic antimorality, and they were among the makers of a counterculture.

It was only one example of one of the most significant inversions that formed the '60s sensibility—the adoption by whites of parts of the culture of blacks, the archetypal pariahs of the '50s sensibility. Black music—along with music of excluded poor whites—gave birth to rock'n'roll, the major cultural explosion of the '60s sensibility. Black dancing—denounced as subversive—inspired a train of events leading toward the rediscovery of the body. (The twist, the first great '60s dance explosion, spread when kids on Dick Clark's American Bandstand began copying the style of a solitary, off-camera black couple.) Marijuana, long associated with blacks and consequently outlawed, became the sacramental herb of the '60s sensibility.

The new sensibility of the '60s drew as well on a lean dissident tradition of religious pacifism, ban-the-bomb peace agitation, assorted leftist social critics (C. Wright Mills, Paul Goodman) and the Beat poets, novelists and musicians.

Yet in the beginning the '60s sensibility shared at some level the rhetorical commitment of the '50s sensibility to democracy and "the good life." It turned around the psychologism of the '50s by proclaiming America a "sick society." It turned around the self-serving justification of imperialism by asking why the United States, in the name of defending freedom and democracy, supported tyrants like Diem and Batista throughout the world. In perhaps its most lasting contribution, the '60s sensibility inverted the '50s vision of democracy as an approval of elites by the masses into the vision of direct, participatory democracy.

By calling attention to discrepancies between promises and actions, the '60s sensibility broke with the consensus that all would be perfect with patience and the passage of time. Imbued with euphoria of abundance, the '60s sensibility, like that of the '50s, imagined all things possible, but in making demands for action now, the '60s movements forced choices to be made.

Since the '50s sensibility emphasized positive thinking, accepted official secrecy and suppressed dissidence, simply pointing out that the emperor was naked could bring results. A furor erupted on the Berkeley campus when one student walked around carrying a sign that said simply, "Fuck." Michael Harrington startled people by recording the obvious poverty in America.

The '60s sensibility embraced the goal of "the good life" that the '50s had promised, but it rejected virtually all of the '50s contents—fleeing suburbia for inner city or countryside, preferring leisured poverty to hard-driven accumulation of new goods, ignoring the symbolic distinctions clothes made among different arenas of life by wearing the same things for all occasions, rejecting dependence on experts in favor of self-reliance and popular decision-making. The long traditions of a bohemian minority suddenly became the preferred lifestyle of millions. The home-grown existentialism, as Hodgson calls it, demanded that people live their revolutionized lives while trying to make history by changing society.

The '50s sensibility had consolidated a trend developing in American society for several decades. Ascetic saving and

deferred hopes were no longer the ideal. Buy now, enjoy yourself, grab your dreams, the new ethic prescribed. The '60s sensibility picked up the message, but broke the chains that bound the '50s pursuit of happiness to the purchase of commodities.

The good life became one of self-realization. Such subjectivism, as it was often denounced by parts of the left, unleashed a tremendous energy, clashing with the dictates of authorities, bursting the corporate mold. It legitimated suppressed needs, but it also led to exaggerated rhetoric, political adventurism, self-righteous arrogance, and disregard for others.

By forming a sensibility out of negation or inversion and out of a desire for a self-realization that pushed the traditional ideals of bourgeois society beyond the limits of contemporary capitalism, the political and cultural movements of the '60s opened up new terrain to explore. But they failed to find a common destination.

There is something appropriate about the raw incoherence of the images in the *Rolling Stone* book of photos and reminiscences, *The Sixties*: jet set fashion is mixed with Charlie Manson, the assassinations of Malcolm X, the Kennedys, Medgar Evers and Martin Luther King with rock emcee Cousin Bruce, swinging London parties and death in Vietnam, Fillmore rock concerts and Watts riots.

The contradictory strands of the '60s sensibility unraveled as rock'n'roll was weaned from vague political associations, and as the war in Vietnam faded as a unifying issue and was finally brought to an end. By the end of "the sixties," sometime in the early '70s, the new sensibility had become the victim of the old structure of power.

Richard Nixon, the '50s fiend incarnate, won the Presidency at the height of the '60s explosion. With that, Hodgson writes, "the old culture inflicted a crushing defeat on the new."



Philip Orell

## TODAY RETURN OF THE MONSTER FROM THE FIFTIES LAGOON

How did it happen? One clue is the virtually complete absence of anything in *The Sixties* about the lives and problems of working class Americans. While the sixties left protested American aggression in Vietnam, Hodgson argues, working class discontent with the war focused on American defeat. Nixon turned the growing anxiety and discontent of the nation against the bringers of bad news—the dissidents—and the revised versions of the '50s Communist bogeyman: black militants, drug addicts and welfare mothers. Also, most working class Americans still hoped for individual success. They may have disliked the rich and powerful, but as Hodgson argues, they envied them as well.

Even the counterculture was not immune. Rock music may have repre-

sented rebellion, but it was also the road to quick personal wealth. Like the music, much of the collective spirit of the '60s has since been channeled back into individual transactions in the market. The quests for fulfillment have taken an inward, meditative, personal turn—or else just headed for a pot of gold.

At times it seems as though the '50s sensibility is winning out. Debby Boone and her syrupy, vague religiosity in "You Light Up My Life" echo Frankie Laine's "I Believe." Novelty songs like "How Much Is That Doggie in the Window?" are activists' curios, but "Disco Duck" still squawks. Commonwealth Edison just opened an exhibit at the Museum of Science and Industry in Chicago extolling unlimited safe, clean energy from nuclear power that could easily have been prepared in the '50s, except for references to "the energy crisis." Opposition to the Equal Rights Amendment builds on '50s images of women. A new "alternative" high school offering strict discipline, dress codes, patriotism, traditional sex roles and "back to basics" education has great support in Pasadena, Calif., where a '50s attack on "the little red schoolhouse" of progressive educators took place.

Yet the signs are not all discouraging. Government officials are readily doubted. The nuclear establishment, the CIA and FBI, and corporate purveyors of shoddy goods are under greater attack than ever. Despite the rightward turn of intellectuals convinced that the '60s proved that "liberalism doesn't work," leftist thought flourishes in universities more than at any time since the 1930s. Science fiction movies are back but are distracting fantasies or parables of the triumph of virtue rather than thinly veiled accounts of foreign invaders. We have a "Democratic Eisenhower" in the White House, but he faces a range of domestic discontent with unemployment, inflation, and declining standards of living that Ike did not have to tackle, and for which the old consensus nostrums will not work. Post-Vietnam distrust of government foreign policy curtails the options for overseas military adventures.

The '60s sensibility, mellowed, fragmented, diversified and sobered, has spread to much of the younger blue collar working class, and concerns of workers are now taken more seriously by veterans of '60s upheavals. As a result of past rhetorical overkill and present cynicism, activists have been forced to draw up realistic, workable plans.

There may no longer be a single Movement or a definable counter-culture, but there are many movements carrying on the '60s missions in new arenas that may yet find some coherence in a vision of democratic socialism.

That will require more than political parties and platforms. It will require a continuation of what began in the '60s, the formulation of a new way of looking at the choices of daily life that can successfully challenge the now weakened and transformed but still dominant sensibility that was forged in the '50s.

Tom Wolfe has already christened this the "me decade," in recognition of how aspirations for fulfillment have taken on a more self-centered, often transcendental form. Perhaps its better side will eventually look like a period of reflection. Up against declarations that life is unfair, the surviving spirit of the '60s, awakened to the realities of the '70s, may pull together its tattered remains and expand beyond both its origins and current narrowed vision to make the next ten years the "we decade," as in "we, the people..." ■

**America in Our Time**, Godfrey Hodgson, Vintage pb., \$4.95.  
**The Fifties: The Way We Really Were**, Douglas T. Miller and Marion Nowak, Doubleday, \$10.95.  
**The Sixties**, Lynda Rosen Obst (Ed.), Random House/Rolling Stone, \$9.95.



# IN THESE TIMES

Editorial

## PLO & Israel are on no-win treadmill

The PLO commando raid in Israel on March 11, and Israel's response with a massive invasion of Lebanon, reaffirms our view that there can be no peace in the Middle East without a mutually satisfactory settlement between the Israelis and the Palestinians.

That will require that each side recognize the national entity and rights of the other. This means each recognizing the other's right to statehood and moving toward neighborly relations of trade, friendship and cooperation. We think that this is the best, and probably the only, way for Israel to achieve lasting security for itself, and for the Palestinians to be accorded their just national rights.

The PLO and Israel seem to act upon worst-case scenarios that each writes for the other. The ghastly and tragic deaths of about 40 Israeli civilians resulting from the PLO raid momentarily rallied world sympathy for the Begin government's hard-line negotiating stance at a time when support for it was eroding both at home and abroad, most notably in the U.S. The Israeli invasion of Lebanon promptly squandered that sympathy just as the PLO had probably hoped it would.

By the cruel outcome of its recent raid, the PLO risks losing international support for its claim as the legitimate representative of the Palestinian people with the capacity to govern. By the Lebanon invasion, which has added at least 100,000 more homeless people to the Middle East refugee problem, and by the refusal to negotiate along the lines of UN Security Council Resolution 242, Begin's policies are leading to the disaster of over-extended expansionism, internal strain, and international isolation.

A change in Begin's policy or a new Israeli government capable of changing that policy is a necessary step to Israeli-Palestinian reconciliation. The alternative is an endless bloody treadmill that must make losers of the currently strong and weak alike.

## Red Brigade helps Italian ruling class

The rising incidence of terrorism in western Europe has made it an urgent political question for socialists, as for others.

With the bogey of "international communism" all but exhausted as an ideological club against social change, partisans of capitalism have seized upon the bogey of "international [red] terrorism." They are doing their best to conjure a public image that equates terrorism with the left.

Every bogey has some basis in reality, and this one is buoyed by such leftist terrorist activity as that of the Baader-Meinhof group in Germany and the Red Brigade in Italy. But it is well to remember that in this century, including the post-World War II decades, right-wing terror against the left has far exceeded leftist terror against either the right or the established order.

"Moderate" governments in the western world bear a heavy responsibility for a political environment conducive to terrorism. They have routinely employed police and military terror against colonial peoples; they have engaged in criminal acts against their opponents' lives

and liberties both abroad and at home; they have conspired, with money and arms, to subvert democratic processes; they have leagued with underworld, provocateur and vigilante elements against the democratic rights of reformists as well as revolutionaries.

In going far toward criminalizing their own organs of legitimacy, "moderate" western governments have contributed to a moral climate of cynicism that leads people to believe in the legitimacy of the criminal. Such governments, too, and the political parties running them, by upholding an economic order depriving millions of security and opportunity, and falsely identifying that order with "democracy," discredit democracy by making it appear to be incompatible with social justice. It is in the soil of such "moderation" that the seeds of terrorism grow.

Seeking to understand the roots of terrorism in the western world, however, is not to justify it. Right-wing and conservative terrorism has its origin in the conditions historically normal to bourgeois society—in the strategies of class, race and imperial domination, in the "morality" of treating other people not as ends but as means to wealth and power. The origins of western left-wing terrorism cannot be found in the broad socialist ideological tradition—including its Marxist, Leninist, or Maoist trends which have always posed popular revolutionary discipline against terroristic acts. The origins of left-wing terrorism lie, rather, in succumbing to the bourgeois syndrome of manipulating people like exchangeable things.

The role of terrorism—right or left—is to strengthen the hand of reaction. By destroying, disrupting or discrediting democratic processes, it deprives the working class and its allies of a basic weapon against capitalist power. By short-circuiting the freest exercise of political debate and organization, it raises not the consciousness suited to popular self-governance, which is essential to socialism, but the mortal enemies of such consciousness—fear, panic and hysteria. Terrorism undermines the people's self-confidence and throws them into the arms of those promising security, law and order. Since the preservation of capitalism requires a restricted or dormant democracy, terror-

ism plays the capitalist game.

Terrorists of the left do not pose the question of peaceful *versus* violent revolution. There can be no socialist revolution of either kind without a self-confident, highly conscious people prepared to vindicate their democratic rights to a fuller humanity. By their professions and their deeds, the leftist terrorists proclaim themselves revolutionary surrogates for what they regard as the passive or duped "masses." Their lack of confidence in and contempt for the people's self-governing capacities are the mirror image of the bourgeoisie's fear of it.

In the massive demonstrations following the Red Brigade kidnapping of Aldo Moro, the Italian working class has said "no" to terrorism and to those who would anoint themselves as the people's benevolent grand inquisitors. It has said "yes" to the democratic struggle for the socialist transformation of society.

The Italian working class is asserting its right to make its own revolution—and the impossibility of its being pushed, or putched, into it. It is emphasizing what we believe all socialists should remember, that in the modern capitalist world terrorism is not the road to revolution but the servant of reaction.

## Soviets defile selves by denying rights

By decree of Leonid I. Brezhnev the Soviet government revoked the citizenship of Soviet expatriate cellist and conductor Mstislav Rostropovich and his wife Galina Vishnevskaya, a former Bolshoi Opera soprano. (Five days earlier a similar decree revoked the Soviet citizenship of Pyotr G. Grigorenko, a former Soviet general.)

The decree justified the action on the ground that Rostropovich and Vishnevskaya had "engaged in unpatriotic activity and defiled Soviet social reality and the title of citizen of the USSR." The gov-

ernment newspaper *Izvestia* denounced the two as "ideological renegades" who had brought harm to the prestige of the USSR."

The Soviet government action is an exercise of arbitrary power wholly inconsistent with democratic principles.

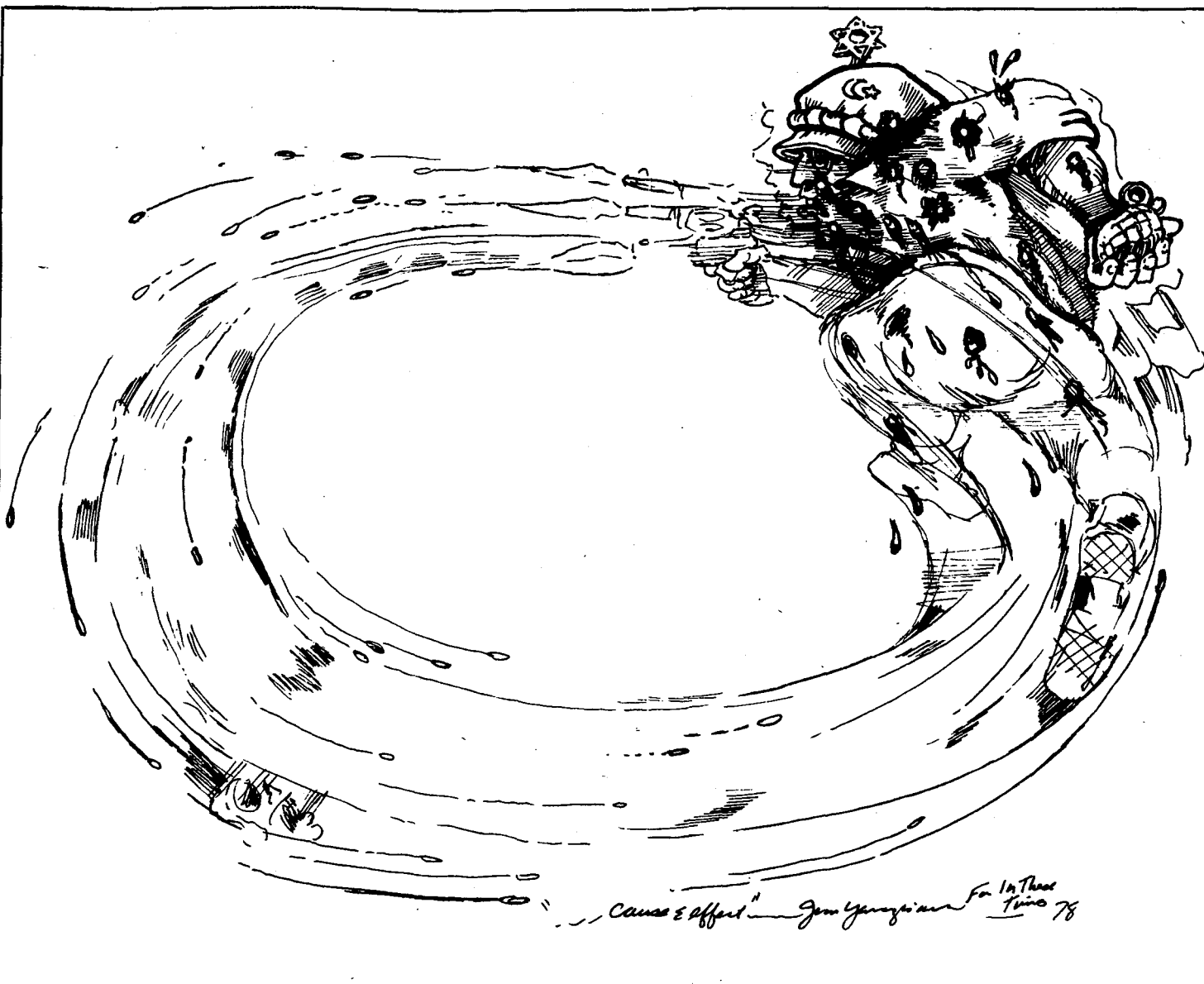
The deprivation of certain citizenship rights upon conviction of felony after a fair trial is widely recognized as consistent with a democratic polity. But government power—by executive decree, star chamber, or otherwise—to revoke citizenship and render a person stateless and homeless, because of beliefs or associations is sheer tyranny.

As long as the Soviet government retains such power, the Soviet political system cannot claim to be republican. For by subjecting people's beliefs and associations to extreme penalty, the Soviet state violates the fundamental republican principle of the sovereignty of the people. We expect a socialist society to honor that principle and fulfill it far beyond the real capacities of capitalist societies.

The Soviet Communists cannot have it both ways. They cannot appeal to principles of socialist internationalism while violating principles of socialist democracy and undermining the confidence of people in other lands in socialism as a progressive and more democratic alternative to capitalism. As long as they continue on the latter path, the Soviet Communist party must be regarded as subordinating the principles and the cause of socialism to their interests as a national ruling party.

An American government that revoked the citizenship of dissenters—Vietnam war opponents, for example, or critics of American society—would immediately, and rightly, be understood as retrograde and tyrannical. Such a denial of fundamental liberties and human rights would be widely condemned by leftists. The standards by which we judge a socialist government should be no less demanding.

By such undemocratic practices the Soviet government and Communist party, not the Rostropoviches or the Solzhenitsyns, "defile" their country's "social reality" and "the title" of Communist party. The government and party make themselves "ideological renegades" to the cause of world socialism—and to Soviet socialism as well.





# Letters

## Nice spooks

**K**AREN WYNN'S SPECIAL REPORT on the CIA (*ITT*, Mar. 15) is disappointing. Are we supposed to feel sorry for these upper class "old boys" of the CIA? I'm afraid she has swallowed, 101 percent, the self-serving nonsense of her "Connecticut source." (Isn't it possible that he might have his own special axes to grind?)

Furthermore, she tries to convince us that these older "impeccable lineage," "old line" characters were sincere people pursuing idealistic ends. They were "liberal" rather than "conservative" in their "overall outlook." This, or the well-known results of it, conflict with the most casual reading of what the CIA was doing from the late 1940s on, LSD experiments and all. (Even the *New York Times* series was better than this!) Her column belongs in *Dissent* or *The New Republic*, not *ITT*.

—Richard Du Boff  
Bryn Mawr, Pa.

## Read before knocking

**W**ELL YOU FINALLY GOT MY anger boiling enough to write a letter. As a feminist who reads *Family Circle*, I strongly doubt that the authors of "The House of Mirrors, American Women as Reflected in the Magazines They Read" ever looked inside.

Beyond the "pretty" cover and the misleading name, this magazine has some meaningful content. While it does not have a political orientation, it offers consciousness raising articles to the group it seems to be aimed at—the average North American woman. The non-use of the generic "he" is just one of the attitudes that sets *Family Circle* apart from the other women's magazines in its class. The inclusion of crafts and cooking sections does not preclude it from being a feminist publication. Carol Becker and Janet Stevenson should read *Family Circle* before they judge it.

—Judy Sennett  
Ashland, Ore.

## It's a hell of a way to write an editorial

**I** WAS APPALLED TO FIND THIS item tucked into your editorial: "Women Take the Lead" (*ITT*, Mar. 8), "...radical feminism that emerged in the 1960s and, based on biological determinism, defined 'the enemy' historically as nature itself, embodied in maleness..." What gobbledegook!

If you want to swear at something you should do it in plain English instead of hiding behind this so-called intellectual language. The people who are being insulted and dismissed have the right to at least that much honest decency. A paragraph later you acknowledge the "insights, depth of feeling and militancy" of radical feminism, but your statement that socialist feminism has gone beyond radical feminism is not adequately defended—perhaps because you do not in the first place discuss in a meaningful way what you consider radical feminism to be.

It's a hell of a way to dismiss the most revolutionary thinking this culture has seen in many years. I think you should be ashamed of committing the same sin that good old capitalist academia implanted in your scholarly souls.

—Moophy Sweezy  
Joffrey, N.H.

## Too young to be so cynical?

**Y**OU CHILDREN OF THE '60S had it easy. You had a war in your time to make you strong and rebellious.

But what will become of the passive '70s child? We had no reason to march or even walk. Sure, there was Watergate, but it was rationalized as something every other President did. This one just happened to get caught.

While the '60s raised revolutionaries, the '70s gave birth to worms. We have nothing to do but drive around getting high, looking for something to do. Maybe we have pickled our minds till we see no justice or injustice. We cannot find jobs because we are too young and inexperienced—ridiculous since all we can do is get older and inexperienced. We complete the educational process and perhaps learn to read in grade school, screw in high school, and sodomize in college.

We reject both Christianity and atheism merely because we are unaware of anything beyond ourselves.

Victims of society? Culture? Or well-meaning parents who kissed our ass because they had to work their off in "hard times" thinking we would be made comfortable and secure? Well, we are. So comfortable we will not move off our lazy butts to change channels on the tube.

By the time we are in control of this society our heads will be so fried and our bodies so flabby, we'll simply forget to run the country.

It is distressing to think we will grow older but by no means wiser.

—Kittie Rogers  
Paragould, Ark.

## Let us be Americans

**"J**ULIUS HOBSON DIED MARCH 23." So began the obituary written by me and published by *ITT* a year ago. That story also quoted Julius: "What too many politicians don't realize is that true home rule" for the District of Columbia, meaning voting representation in both houses of Congress, "would take a constitutional amendment, and that's just too much hassle. Statehood would accomplish the same thing, and all that takes is an act of Congress."

The House has passed and the Senate has before it a constitutional amendment to give the District representation in Congress. It is in trouble getting the required two-thirds vote in the Senate, which wants two new, probably black, members like it wants junkets cut off, and the amendment would be in trouble getting the required three-quarters of states to ratify it.

Well, I hope the amendment goes through. But despite the ill-briefed opposition of Jimmy the Baptist, statehood would do the same thing with, as Julius said, a lot less hassle.

Administratively, the federal government already treats the District of Columbia as a state. Why not let us be Americans at the polling place as well?

—Joe Holt Anderson  
Washington, D.C.

## Smiles in the corporate boardrooms

**I** ENJOY YOUR NEWSPAPER BUT I am continually amused as writer after writer parrots the belief that a vote for a Republican is a vote for big business.

For many years I voted Republican when they were trying to run the country and the various states on a business-like basis.

However, about 20 years ago "Big Business" saw the light. While they perform behind a facade of Republicans they would be pretty sad if a conservative group ran the country. They finally realized that their prosperity and very existence, to a great extent, hinged on government spending. So, to fool the naive, they talk Republican while voting and praying Democratic. Why kill the goose that lays the golden eggs?

I, too, realized that my future and retirement depended on Democratic spending and I have seen the light also. Those people with all of the government contracts can't fool me.

You people better consider an adjust-

ment to your thinking. I am sure each edition of *ITT* brings smiles in the plush corporate offices.

—Robert E. Howell  
Emilonton, Pa.

## Dissatisfied

**I** WAS VERY DISSATISFIED WITH the political consciousness reflected in Jane Melnick's report on lesbian mothers (*ITT*, Mar. 8). A predominant theme in the article seemed to be that the children of lesbian mothers grow up to be heterosexual, so therefore it's OK for these mothers to be granted custody.

The implication of this is the old familiar anti-gay notion that heterosexuality is better than homosexuality. My view on this is essentially a "youth liberation" perspective—children should be free to create and express their own sexuality and the best parents are the ones who offer their children that freedom, not parents (lesbians or otherwise) who think they are more "successful" as parents when their children turn out straight.

I was insulted by the reference to Dr. Richard Green, a California psychologist, whose work in the area of sexual identity has been criticized by radical feminist writers. This man has made himself rich and famous by insisting on the anti-feminist, anti-gay notions that there is such a thing as gender confusion—I feel very sorry for the little sissy boys who are placed in his care for "adjustment." There are many lesbian mothers who hide their own sexuality from their children because of the fears and bugaboos raised in this article; a radical lesbian perspective would not promote these fears. A lesbian mother whose child emerges with a gay identity has at least as much right to be proud and happy as any other mother.

—Allen Young  
Orange, Mass.

## Jane Melnick replies:

The article gives no indication that I share Dr. Green's political consciousness. An editorial cut, made without my knowledge, may have made it seem, to readers not in tune with the tone of the article, as if I had no opinion about the plight of lesbian mothers forced by the courts to prove that their children won't turn out gay. The excluded sentence was: "Thanks to Dr. Green's remarkable [i.e., weird] research, lesbian mothers have the dubious privilege of proving to judges that they won't 'visit their sins' on their children."

I was upset about this cut before Young's letter, but I do not think its omission creates a "predominant theme" out of touch with the rest of the material of the article. Reading such a political consciousness into it would be similar to concluding from Young's letter that he was launching a campaign against "sissy" boys.

## WSP and SALT

**E** DITH VILLASTRIGO'S PIECE ON SALT (*ITT*, Mar. 5) contains several errors.

1. SALT II is not a "treaty limiting strategic offensive weapons." It is a treaty permitting the increase of a number of deliverable warheads, in terms of lethal power—power to kill—it will allow both nations to at least double their strategic capability.

2. SALT I was not only on "strategic defensive arms" it set limits on "strategic offensive arms."

3. The statement that SALT II limits "all" strategic weapons ICBMs and SLBMs and now "heavy bombers," MIRVs, strategic cruise missiles, is misleading. The number of Soviet MIRV weapons is increased from 250 to 1,200, and the Soviets are also permitted to MIRV submarine weapons, which are now single warhead. The U.S. is permitted to have cruise missiles of a certain range, which make it a strategic weapon, including "heavy bombers" doesn't make much difference; the important

thing is the number and power of deliverable warheads. No restriction is placed on lethal power, either on megatonage or accuracy.

4. The three-year protocol is the most disturbing part of the treaty. Not one weapon covered by that protocol will be deployable in three years. The protocol does not stop development of those weapons.

5. SALT II does not prevent development and deployment of Mark 12a, neutron bomb, cruise missile, or MARV.

6. SALT II will not stop the adding of "7,000 new nuclear weapons." Actually, if SALT II is approved it will increase the U.S. strategic arsenal from 9,000 warheads to 10,154, plus 2,000 cruise missiles, or a total of 12,154; and the Soviet arsenal will increase from 4,000 to 8,124. Total increase is 7,278 permitted under SALT II.

7. SALT II does not commit both powers "for the first time to negotiate substantial mutual reductions in strategic arms." Both powers are committed to do this under the Non-Proliferation Treaty of 1968. Instead they have escalated, and will escalate again under SALT II.

On Feb. 20 a Women Strike for Peace/Women for Peace regional meeting was held in Philadelphia. It accepted the following statement on SALT.

"We support negotiations for genuine arms reduction between the Soviet Union and the U.S. The current SALT proposals do not accomplish this. Negotiations that allow an increase in weapons systems is not the direction toward peace. We support a disarmament race toward zero nuclear weapons."

"We propose substantive reduction in nuclear arsenals both quantitatively and qualitatively—the elimination of the cruise missile, stopping research, development and production of the MX mobile missile and other new weapons of mass destruction."

—Shirley Lens  
Chairwoman of Chicago area  
Women for Peace

## From Missouri!

**"D** OES LOW-LEVEL RADIATION kill?" (*ITT*, Mar. 22) only quotes technical and mathematical specialists who have their egos inflated and are serving their own interests.

Statistical correlations never establish cause, they only suggest problem areas. Anything can be proved from a little bit of random data. You would do your readers a service if you would show them how not to be deceived by statistics.

Nature tells us that people living in Colorado receive twice as much natural radiation as people living in Louisiana. Are people leaving Colorado? When the experts explain that, we'll be on the right track!

—William J. Mechem  
Chemical Engineer  
Argonne National Laboratory

**Editor's Note:** Please try to keep letters under 250 words in length. Otherwise we have to make drastic cuts, which may change what you want to say. Also, if possible, please type and double-space letters—or at least write clearly and with wide margins.

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Paul Booth

## A step or two towards a proper urban policy

The first organization to seize the opportunities of the new sectional politics was the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, which guided a Countercyclical Revenue Sharing bill to enactment, over a series of Gerald Ford vetoes. This grant-in-aid program dispenses several hundred million dollars each quarter to states and localities according to their respective levels of unemployment. It is the only grant-in-aid program—of several hundred that redistribute \$60 billion per year—that reverses the market flow of money.

Nixon's "new federalism" basically took all the LBJ Great Society programs that doled out grants at the discretion of politicians and bureaucrats and substituted mathematical formulas. Not surprisingly, the formulas favor places that normally elect Republicans and Dixiecrats.

But some victims of the new federalism have been getting wise to the game, and a struggle for the money between regions has begun. This is nothing new: we once had a War Between the States. As the Supreme Court reminded us when it nullified the law extending the minimum wage to municipal employees (in *National League of Cities v. Usery*), we have a federal system called the *United States*.

Big-city mayors are doing the most talking about regional discrimination. They would have you believe that the urban crisis is its result. A term as vague as urban crisis can mean just about anything, of course. In the '60s it was a code phrase meaning we recognize the existence of racial oppression. After the race riots stopped, you didn't see pictures of Henry Ford II holding hands with Jackie Robinson singing "We Shall Overcome" in those urban coalition ads in *Business Week*. There were some results—Great

Society programs, black representation in politics—but the underlying social problems of the cities (which leftists thought were the urban crisis) persisted.

Since the budget crisis in New York City, the phrase is back in currency, now referring to a financial-economic crisis of declining manufacturing areas, affecting whites as well as blacks and browns. Service cutbacks, plant relocations and neighborhood housing deterioration are all interlocked aspects of the crisis.

The left doesn't have a proper urban program, but only some pieces. Let's look at them to see how they might be advanced by recognizing the politics of sectional rivalry. Some items of the intermediate political agenda are:

1. Full employment—enactment of the Humphrey-Hawkins bill and providing public service jobs to the unemployed to meet the targets.

2. Fighting runaway shops—NLRA reform to facilitate organizing the plants where they relocate, laws imposing severance penalties on companies that move, and repeal of foreign tax credits used by multinational companies.

3. Welfare reform—federalizing the costs and raising the benefits.

4. Anti-redlining—regulation of savings and loans, banks, and insurance companies, and focusing economic development incentives on declining areas.

It should be evident that these issues cause polarization along different lines. Anti-redlining proposals have a fairly narrow base—city residents only. Redlining helps suburbs, hurts cities. Even the Catholic church, whose urban dioceses are the mainstay of the redlining movement, also has parishes in the suburbs it can't offend. Most unions (except AFSCME, AFT, the mailhandlers, and a few others)

are as suburban as they are urban. On the other hand, the black community is stuck. So are big-city politicians.

Anti-runaway proposals pit state against states, instead of cities against everyone else. The NLRA reform that is not in the package before the Senate is repeal of the Right-to-Work section allowing states to ban the union shop. In a state like New York, Illinois or Michigan, which will never ban the union shop, even small town Chambers of Commerce can see their interest in not letting South Carolina ban it. Accordingly, many conservative snowbelt Republicans would vote to repeal 14B, just as Rep. Dan Rostenkowski of Chicago opposes extension of the Investment Tax Credit to new plant construction (although he tends to support business tax breaks) because this one favors new construction against refitting older plants.

Both welfare reform and public jobs are budget issues, exciting the enthusiasm of all governments, with the Youngtowns and Buffalos only slightly more avid than the rest.

For the labor movement, the Democratic Agenda, the networks of community organizations, and the Congressional Black Caucus, these are the bare beginnings of their strategic discussions. The left should take up the responsibility of pursuing these subjects.

Such strategic discussions should also focus on the following considerations that have short-term implications:

1. The President, a Democrat who got electoral votes from South and North, is going to avoid taking sides in these disputes, as he did at the White House conference on Regionalism in late January. Nonetheless, within the bureaucracies that are more influential than Congress



on sewage disposal and transportation planning, pollution standards, energy technology development, and regulation of savings bank investment, these struggles rage, although our movements have rarely succeeded in applying pressure in those arenas.

2. Because the Democrats are more or less the permanent majority in Congress, power in that branch depends more on the balance within their caucuses than between the Democrats and the GOP. Therefore if the number of rural and suburban Democrats from marginal districts is reduced in November as is anticipated, big-city members will be able to act more unhesitatingly on behalf of specifically urban interests.

3. Control of the census is vital in view of the billions of grant-in-aid dollars and the seats in the House that depend on its results. It remains to be seen if efforts will be made to count the millions of blacks and Chicanos who were missed in 1970. If they are, they would more than offset the sun-ward migration in the final numbers. Legalizing of the status of undocumented aliens would also have major impact on census results.

4. The hopes for full employment and all other issues that basically divide along class lines depend on reversing the deep apathy reflected in low voter turnouts. Most of the non-voters are working class. The apathy has to be attacked by a program that appeals to and mobilizes the dropouts. But it would be facilitated by legislation removing barriers to voting participation, such as instant registration and making election day a half-day holiday.

Paul Booth is assistant to the director of Council 31 AFSCME.

Richard B. Du Boff

## Capitalism, not just the military, is depleting our economy and society

A widely promoted view about military spending is that it "depletes" our civilian economy. The Pentagon, we are told, has drawn scientific talent and critical raw materials away from the "free market," and shunted them toward war industries. It has channeled research and development into corporate and university projects geared to short run military payoffs, thereby weakening the "basic research" that advances our knowledge and improves civilian know-how. Its "parasitic growth" has shackled the economic vitality of the private sector. Urban decay, public-sector squalor, environmental deterioration, and even technological backwardness in key industries are all said to be the result of excessively high military expenditures—and not, presumably, capitalist priorities in American society itself.

This thesis, it seems to me, is based on two false assumptions. First, it assumes that in the absence of heavy military spending, or in the wake of sharp cutbacks in it, the resources it employs would flow—or could be easily redirected into—"humane" civilian spending and into industries whose subsequent expansion would help us solve our social problems. This is why advocates of this view have been hard at work on plans, and congressional bills, for the "conversion" of military facilities to "competitive civilian industry."

Second, it supposes that the lower our military spending the stronger our industrial technology. From this it would follow that our international trade perform-

ance would improve, too.

For economists, "opportunity costs" represent alternatives forgone: the moment our society uses resources to turn out weapons, for instance, those resources cannot go to produce shoes or apples or housing or medical services. To be sure, the Pentagon gobbles up labor, capital, and materials that *could* be used to rebuild our cities—but the same bundles of labor, capital, and materials might just as readily be transferred from the Pentagon to General Motors, Exxon, McDonald's, or Disneyland. Simply denying resources to the military does not guarantee that they will be shifted towards satisfying critical social needs. On the contrary, given the continued domination of private capital over resource allocation, investment, pricing, and income creation, we should assume that such resources probably would flow to other equally wasteful (though possibly less lethal) ends.

In fact, military spending was cut in 1954, 1960, and 1970—with no noticeable increase in our commitments to our cities, our poor, or our public transportation. Instead the result was "transitional"; the resources simply went unemployed for a time as the economy promptly sank into recession. Eventually some of them were re-employed, by the resurgent corporate sector of the "free" economy.

Technological obsolescence is a trickier subject. There appear to be relatively few civilian spillovers from military technology. Political scientist Bruce Russett

has found that "the scarcity of important commercial applications becomes astonishing when one recalls the magnitude of defense R&D." Many of the labor skills are not transferable either; Boston's Route 128 engineers have had rough times finding civilian work after they lost their military-related jobs with the slowdown of Vietnam war spending after 1969. In general, though, despite (and in some small degree because of) the huge allocation of resources to weapons and space, I doubt that the American economy as a whole can be called "backward" or "obsolescent" compared with other capitalist nations. Nor can it be shown that our technologically progressive industries are those that are closely tied to military R&D—that technological advances have been concentrated in military-oriented firms.

The acid test is international trade. Do we enjoy any "comparative advantage" export success, and if so, in what commodities? Are our exports primarily those that embody heavy "military" inputs? The answers appear to be: yes, our exports do fare well in international competition; and no, they are not especially linked to military research, contracts, or spillover.

In the 1970s the U.S. has run trade deficits (merchandise imports surpassing merchandise exports) in every year except 1970, 1973, and 1975. Yet throughout the decade petroleum imports alone have amounted to much more than the trade deficits. Without our oil imports, our export surplus would still be very large; in 1976-77 it would have come to \$16 to \$25

billion (against actual trade deficits of \$9 billion in 1976 and \$26 billion in 1977).

Our successful export industries are principally science-based and skill-intensive—electronics, aircraft, chemicals, pharmaceuticals, agricultural and electrical machinery, engines and turbines, primary fabricated metals and agriculture. Of these, only the first two have benefited from substantial spillover of military technology. Conversely, our backward industries—the ones that are technological laggards and are being assailed by foreign competition—do not suffer because they are "starved" by the military. Steel, automobiles, textiles, shoes, the railroads owe their dismal records to their own complacency and their insistence on higher profit margins than their foreign counterparts (steel and autos in particular)—or to the unimpeded mobility of capital on a multinational plane, where lower labor costs are a prime goal. Railroads represent, along with the urban sector, a case study in the social devastation wrought by the unrestrained proliferation of Detroit's gas guzzlers since World War II.

The swollen military budget must remain a target for the left. It does many things for big corporations, and helps keep federal income tax revenues away from social welfare programs. But military spending is only one reflection of capitalist priorities in American society. The fight over those priorities is the key to shifting resources toward people rather than profits.

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# PERSPECTIVES

## A reckless gamble disrupts French left

By Bogdan Denitch

Now that the French left has snatched defeat from the jaws of victory, it is clear that it did not take two to start its internal fight. Yet we can be grateful to Marchais and the French CP for having made it clear that if the French left stays out of power for the next decade, the narrow organizational interests and the sectarian politics of French Communism are mainly to blame.

A reckless gamble with the prospect of a major left-wing breakthrough was undertaken during the last year by the French Communists, a gamble all the more reckless because it cannot be blamed on orders from Moscow or the needs of the Soviet state. The French communists have won their independence and asserted it often and harshly enough for observers to be able to assign the responsibility for this fallback to the French party itself, to its internal needs and to the parochial vision of socialism and its prospects that dominate it.

Two issues were overwhelmingly important. The French CP still has a narrow, overcentralist vision of socialist strategy that seems superbly designed to frighten hesitant middle class voters back into the center-right fold. They have learned nothing and forgotten nothing. This is particularly painful in the framework of French politics where their major partner, the French Socialist party, was willing to propose a program far to the left of all other social democratic parties. The PSF's renaissance offers the possibility of shifting the balance within the Socialist International to the left. Victory in coalition would have had an enormous positive effect on the prospects of the left throughout the continent. A decisive victory for the left in France would have helped the Italian Communists enormously and accelerated the possibilities of unification in the Spanish left. A victory with a stable left coalition would also have settled the argument about the need and feasibility of a socialist/communist coalition and, thus, integrated the development of Eurocommunism into the mainstream of working class politics by making a European socialism possible. For that, self-restraint on the part of the CP was required. But it was absent.

### Competition for working class support.

The second issue, of course, affected the relation of forces between the two working class parties. In order to maintain its crumbling organizational hegemony on the left, the CP not only prevented a left coalition victory but concentrated most of its effective fire on its socialist partners. It is a near miracle that the French socialist movement was led by a politician as stable as Mitterand who throughout this Donnybrook firmly kept restating his commitment to a common program of the left and an electoral alliance with the Communists. The Socialist party resisted its two temptations: to enter into a counteroffensive against the CP and exacerbate the divisions on the left by responding in the tone the CP used throughout the debate, or to be pushed into a destructive and sterile left-center strategy.

Given the major inducements dangled before the SP, both domestically and internationally, to settle for a left-center strategy, and given the heterogeneous nature of the Socialist party, where a substantive section of the rank-and-file and socialist voters would probably prefer

such a strategy, it took a major commitment to a common program on the part of the SP leadership to resist being pushed in that direction. We must be clear on this. The CP willingly undertook this risk—the risk of breaking up the coalition and forcing the socialists into a left-center strategy—in order to win a few percentage points in the election, away from other left parties, and to retain its organizational stability.

### Lesson to be drawn.

It is not too early to draw some lessons from the French events. Some are relevant to the massive left in Europe, and some to American socialists. The first general strategic question lies in the definition of the clientele, status groups and voters that have to be won over to create a left majority. Clearly, those groups lie to the right of the organized parties of the left. It is not by coalescing with the microscopic ultra-left groups that the left majority can be constructed. On the contrary, a majority can only be created by winning over masses that have not yet committed themselves to socialism or that have been voting for the centrist parties. This lesson, already painfully learned by the Italian and Spanish communists, has clearly eluded the French. The absence of a large left majority cannot be attributed to the moderation of the common program. Uncertainties in the minds of the voters focus on the dramatic breakthroughs that are proposed by that program, on the massive increase of minimum wages, the nationalization of the commanding heights of the economy, and the obvious determination of the left coalition to go beyond welfare state tinkering with the social order.

To leap into such a risk-laden and uncertain course, the voters not already committed to the left needed to be convinced of several things, probably the most important of which is that the left is capable of governing. Therefore, the inquisitorial tone of the CP in dealing with its partners, while reassuring to party cadres, must have been frightening to potential left voters.

If the CP was willing to risk a defeat in order to push its partners beyond what they were willing to do, what were the prospects of a left government? In a situation where the president could call an election any time the polls indicated a weakening of the left, and where major stresses would be created by the flight of capital and a strike of the capitalist class, disunity on the left seemed to guarantee disaster. This explains the sharp drop in popular support for the unified left, just as the unity of the left explained the previous increase of support.

There is a distinction between a protest vote and an affirmative vote. The voters were not asked to protest against the obvious injustices of the existing social order, but to give a mandate to change. And with a blank check to a left that remained disunited until the eve of the vote. That was asking a great deal.

It is not fruitful to go into the substance of the quarrel because even if the CP were right, it is clear that it could not be right alone. The inevitability of coalition politics made the party apparat rebel against the possibility of beginning the social transformation of France with itself as a junior partner. But no observers, left, right or center, had even hinted that the French electorate would support a united left with the CP as a senior partner. France is not Italy. The French communists have not earned the trust that the Ital-

ian party has. Therefore, in its emergence from political isolation and the ghetto into which the Cold War placed it, it was essential that the coalition be dominated by the Socialists. And it was a piece of major good fortune that France had a Socialist party that understood the indispensability of a coalition and was willing to shed its Cold War roots to go into such a coalition. This was not easy. It involved major arguments with other mass socialist parties and, therefore, a victory of the left in France would have also been a victory for the left-wings within the Socialist International.

If the first lesson is that the parties must address themselves to their right if they are to win substantial majorities, the second lesson probably is that nationalization is not the most attractive part of the appeal of the Left. It is an instrument and not an end, and the masses of new left voters tend to be far less taken with the dogma of rigid centralized planning than are the old-timers in both the Socialist and Communist parties. When the Communists contemptuously stated that all that the common program would do was to create in France a society resembling that of Sweden, they missed the point entirely. That would be a major advance in France and one hailed by groups currently uninvolved in left politics. An egalitarian France, more committed to social justice, more modern, was not something to be sneered at except by ideologues.

But the common program went far beyond that proposed by the Swedish social democrats.

The strategy of a left government in Europe can either be European or autarchic. For the flight of capital to be made more difficult and for the French economy to avoid being blockaded, the European arena provides a framework for coalitions in which a social democratic majority can be used to absorb the shock of transition. That majority that exists within the common market obviously would find it easier to relate to a government, the dominant force of which was the French SP. The alternative, an autarchic France, would have probably created stresses and cleavages in which a major left-right clash would create a near civil war situation. My argument, and it is the same argument that is used by the Italian and Spanish communists, is that such a cleavage at this stage in Europe works for the right, not for the left. Europe is on the eve of a swing to the left, but not in revolutionary ferment. That is not a matter of choice; it's a matter of analysis. A radical left or revolutionary program in that context means isolation and not victory. Left versus right politics within the workers' movement obviously hinged on what are the alternatives as perceived by the mass base of the left. In a context where revolutionary transformations are on the agenda, a social democratic line is a betrayal of the revolution. But in a context where wide-scale structural reforms are on the agenda, to play with revolutionary strategy dooms a left party to isolation and may well make such struc-

tural changes impossible by destroying the broad base for a left victory.

That part of the lesson is one that has a reference to the American left, particularly in how it relates to the events in Europe. It is ironic that much of the left in the U.S.—weak, divided and sectarian as it is—instinctively appears to back the more radical currents within the European left. In some cases the focus is on the extra-parliamentary micro-groupings in Italy and Spain that spend the bulk of their time polemicizing against the CPs where they are right. They attack the communists when they begin to present themselves as serious, political alternatives to the existing social order. This ultra-left, at least in my vision, can have two possible roles. One is that of acting as ginger groups, helping keep the mass left honest; the other is to attempt to block the breakout of isolation required to build majorities. It is impossible for a revolutionary left, at this stage, to obtain a majority even within the working class, let alone within society. Therefore, support for the ultra-left is support of the existing status quo. Unless, of course, one seriously proposes a revolutionary strategy based on a minority within industrial politics of Europe. How such a strategy could lead to a democratic social order and a pluralist socialism escapes me.

Parts of the American left that do not support the ultras seem to support the more sectarian groups within the Eurocommunist milieu. For example, the French versus the Italian CP. It would seem appropriate that the support, if it is to be based on more than an antipathy towards social democracy and even to left socialist parties, should also state its affirmative program. IN THESE TIMES has been at least ambivalent on this matter. What is the real meaning of siding with the CP? Are we saying by this that we think that there is no prospect of a left majority? That there should not be such a majority because it would not go far enough? What is an alternative strategy?

This, in turn, ties to one's view of American socialist politics. Is it the purity of faith that is our problem, or the absence of a mass base? Does a mass base for socialism exist to the left of the existing socialist organizations—miniscule as they are—or is the problem of building a socialist movement one of winning the millions of American working class, radical and progressive-minded voters to even the most moderate socialist alternative?

I believe it is the latter, and it is therefore that coalition politics are imposed on the socialist left in America, not as a matter of choice but as a question of the circumstances within which we live, where the majority without which a mass left is inconceivable, today is to be found voting for the Democrats. But that is a different argument and one that may be well worth pursuing at greater length. ■

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### RAPID TRANSIT

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# BOOKS



## POLITICS

### A searchingly self-critical account of the American Communist experience

**THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF AN AMERICAN COMMUNIST: A Personal View of a Political Life, 1925-1975**

By Peggy Dennis  
Lawrence Hill & Co.  
Creative Arts Book Co., \$5.95

Since 1958, when John Gates' autobiography appeared, there have been almost a dozen biographies or autobiographies of leading American Communists. With one or two exceptions, they have been thin stuff, revealing little of the motives or emotions of party leaders, and less about the nature of the party itself. Now, however, Peggy Dennis has written in an *Autobiography of an American Communist* a painfully honest and searchingly self-critical account of her own life and of the history and character of the American Communist party.

The widow of Eugene Dennis, a top ranking national leader of the Communist party from 1938 until his death in 1961, Peggy Dennis was in the unique position of being able to observe first hand the inner workings of the top echelons of the party without being directly responsible for party decisions. As Dennis' wife, she was and remains fiercely loyal to him, but as an early feminist, she was rankled by many things in her relationships both with him and with other party leaders. In writing her autobiography, this critical distance, combined with a principled integrity, have served her well.

#### Early experiences.

Peggy Dennis grew up in an immigrant radical community in Los Angeles in the 'teens and early '20s. Her parents were immigrants, her mother a revolutionary who had fled czarist Russia rather than accept exile to Siberia, her father also a socialist. From her earliest years, the Russian revolutionary movement, and then the Russian Revolution, were central to her life.

She joined the Young Communist League at 13 and the party at 16, in 1925. Three years later, at a Marxist summer school in Oregon, she met Frank Waldron, later to be known as Eugene Dennis. They fell in love and remained together for the next 33 years, except for stretches of time when Gene was on Comintern assignment in South Africa or the Far East.

In 1938, while the Dennises were living in Moscow where



Gene and Peggy Dennis

Gene was the American party's representative to the International, the Russians "suggested" that he be installed as a buffer between William Z. Foster and Earl Browder, the party's two most prominent leaders. The Dennises moved to New York, where Peggy stayed until Gene's death in 1961. She then moved back to the West Coast and remained an active party member until after the Russian invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968. In 1976, she finally resigned from the party.

From the time she was a school-girl, Dennis lived in two worlds. At Young Communist meetings she made eloquent speeches "denouncing the Rockefeller and Morgan warmakers and urging support of the new children's revolutionary movement." But in high school, Peggy and her sister Mini "participated in statewide oratorical contests and Shakespearean festivals," and won the leads in their respective senior plays.

Peggy was the editor of her school paper. Both sisters "went steady with popular athletes," and belonged to "in-groups noted for being intellectual, service-minded, trend setting." It was perhaps strange, Dennis writes, "that we did not suffer split personality symptoms as we grew up keeping our political and school lives in separate compartments."

#### The two worlds of Communist politics.

In a different form, this split would plague Peggy, Gene, and the entire Communist party

throughout its existence. As Dennis puts it, the problem for the party was how to Americanize Communism. At the summer school where she met Gene, he told the students that their movement "had to be rooted in the American experience, molded by the American culture." Yet, a few days later, when the camp was threatened with attack by hostile local people, a meeting was held to decide how to respond. "No Bolshevik group in Czarist Russia debated the issue of reformism versus adventurism more seriously than we," Dennis writes.

This identification with the Russian experience was only natural in the early '20s, when the Russian party's achievement still had widespread support and admiration among socialists of all varieties, as well as among trade unionists and many liberals. But for American Communists, the identification was total. Thus, when Peggy arrived in Moscow in 1931 to join Gene (who had been assigned to the Comintern several months earlier), she felt that "six thousand miles from home, I was Home." And in 1937, when she returned to Moscow to accompany Gene (who now was the American party's representative there) she remembers her "old awareness that I was Home; that unlike anywhere else in the world, here was the embodiment of all we were working for."

Since for Dennis, as for all Communists, the Soviet Union embodied all the virtues of socialism—was the model for social-

ism—Americanizing Communism became an insoluble dilemma, one that has still not been solved by the party, and that Dennis herself illustrates but does not seem to understand. Her problem is compounded by her continuing loyalty to Gene, which leads her not only greatly to exaggerate his political sagacity, but also to imply that if only the Communists had accepted his guidance they would now have a successful mass working class party.

#### Loyalty imposes limitations.

Peggy's personal loyalty to Gene, admirable as it may be, prevents her from following her own revelations and observations to their logical, even obvious, conclusions. For example, she views Gene's elevation to the top ranks of party leadership as a just reward for his service and accomplishments, but she does not examine what it meant for the party to have its leadership chosen in Moscow by leaders of the Communist International, rather than by the party membership in a democratic manner. Not only could party leadership be chosen in Moscow, but no party leader could survive in office if he or she offended the Russians.

This made it impossible for American Communists to develop a conception of socialism, the revolutionary process or of party organization that differed from Russian experience or Soviet national needs. Failure to support Soviet policy or principles could never lead to changes in the American party, but only to the isolation of the innovator or dissenter.

Dennis condemns the American party's subservience to the Soviets, but because the book is also a defense of Gene, she is blind to his and the party's fundamental inability to bridge the gap between their increasingly private visions of socialism and a popular American politics. She is sharply critical of Stalin's view that the "class enemy" had penetrated "the whole fabric" of Soviet society, that it had "unlimited reserves in the population," and that the Soviet party was surrounded by a popular "sea of hostility." But she fails to see that Stalin's "lack of faith in the at-

tracting powers of socialism," as she calls it, was shared by American Communists, who for good reason had an equal lack of faith in the ability or willingness of the American people to accept the party's concept of socialism.

The idea that the American people were not ready for socialism grew out of the party's disastrous attempts during the "Third Period" (1929-1934) to popularize the idea of a Soviet America, but it was also consistent with Stalin's pronouncements on the untrustworthiness of the general population. When the Popular Front period began after 1934, therefore, the Communists relegated their discussions and thoughts of socialism more and more to their own private world, while their public activity was limited more and more narrowly to militant activity on immediate issues. Tactics and organizational measures were increasingly substituted for the public articulation and development of socialist concepts of democracy.

This is reflected in Peggy's frequent and lengthy quotations of Gene's windy speeches and articles. His dissertations and exhortations are instructive only in the emptiness and banality of Communist politics. But the reader is nevertheless treated to many lectures that read like the incantations of a medieval alchemist seeking just the right combination of opportunism and sectarianism in order to produce gold. In politics, as in chemistry, however, the noble cannot be created by combining baser ingredients. In presenting just such an attempt as an activity worthy of a top leader of a party aspiring to the leadership of the working class, Dennis demonstrates that she has not fully transcended the framework of thought in which she was enmeshed for so long.

This major flaw aside, *The Autobiography of an American Communist* is a book filled with fascinating and sometimes painful revelations and insights into the major political experience of American leftists in the 40 years from 1920 to 1960. The book is an outstanding accomplishment.

—James Weinstein

### How the U.S. wrought world monetary chaos

**THE ORIGINS OF INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC DISORDER: A Study of United States International Monetary Policy from World War II to the Present**

By Fred L. Block  
University of California Press, \$14

Prof. Fred L. Block, of the University of Pennsylvania, is a sociologist who does not force his data to conform to the initial

shape of his model, an economist who writes clearly enough to allow his assumptions to be noted and his analysis to be weighed, and a historian who has managed to integrate in a balanced way the specific causal weight of individuals and institutions.

Block's purpose in *The Origins of International Economic Disorder* is to illuminate the obstacles to the contemporary efforts at international monetary reform



by examining the rise and fall of the Bretton Woods system. In the process Block gives special attention to "the ways in which specific international monetary arrangements both reflect and influence the distribution of political-economic power among the major capitalist countries." He has been extremely successful in this difficult and complex task.

Block has used mostly published sources and surveys all of the published material that has bearing on his theme. But he did not use the available manuscripts of Roosevelt, Truman, Dulles, Acheson, Mogenthau and others that might have given him a greater sense of the participation of particular individuals and their motivation and so corrected his overemphasis on the degree of determinism and national self-seeking in American policy after World War II.

For instance, in his analysis of Anglo-American commercial conflicts, Block argues that Britain would have been willing to "abandon imperial preference and discriminatory trade practices, if the U.S. would agree to major cuts in its tariff level." He argues that what blocked such a deal was the too great power of American protectionist interests. This is wrong and narrow because too simply determinist.

The American corporate leadership, including most of the executive department of the national government, believed such an exchange between Britain and the U.S. would not be equivalent for equivalent: the British Imperial (preference) market was nowhere near as large in value of exports interchanged as was the "huge American market." And even if it had been, the U.S. would not have agreed because

this would create an Anglo-American trading block against continental Europe and Japan as well as the Soviet Union, and would not reverse the exclusive state trading and protectionist developments that had taken place since 1914, which American leaders thought were the underlying causes of intercapitalist-nation war.

Block posits possible poles to a capitalist international monetary order: "Nations that allow the market to play a major role can be termed 'open,' while those that allow market forces little or no role in determining international transactions can be termed 'closed.'" But he recognizes that "there is a continuum" between the two. Block is convincing when he argues that the state capitalist structure that was coming into being prior to the Marshall Plan in some West European nations, like France, constituted almost as much of a threat to American conceptions of a workable world as the even more "closed" Soviet system.

It is less easy to agree that the drive for openness has for its major purpose allowing the "capitalists from the strongest economy...to take advantage of opportunities for profit in other countries." Certainly such advantages do arise for the stronger, but widening the world market also contributed to the expansion of the economies of other capitalist states as well as smoothing over the economic tensions that had led to war in the past, like those between Germany and France and the U.S. and Japan.

Indeed, one could argue that if a world market is to be organized on some capitalist basis that an open one is more in the interests of peace and stability and

economic growth than is a closed economy. In this connection, World War II was, in great measure, a product of aggression by the closed German, Italian and Japanese empires against the relatively open American, British and French empires.

In his chapter on "Bretton Woods and the British Loan" Block outlines contrasting approaches of the National Economic Planners (left wing New Dealers who believed that full employment could be obtained by domestic state investment) and the "business internationalists" who contended that full employment consistent with widening investment opportunities for private capital was only possible if an export surplus were maintained.

In a perceptive critique of the generally very attractive "National Economic Planners" Block points out that state investment meant more and more government spending to consume the surplus generated by the original investment. "Only if an increasing portion of government spending was wasteful could this continuous expansion of the government's investment role be averted. In short, national capitalism in the U.S. would have required a progressive narrowing of the private ownership of any of the means of production."

Any citizen who wishes to know how American leaders created a stable international investment and trading system from 1942 forward and how and why that stability disintegrated can do no better than to read Block's book. —**Carl Parrini**  
*Carl Parrini teaches history at Northern Illinois University and is author of Heir to Empire.*

and Red Hook were being closed by Beame and Deputy Mayor Cavanagh.

N & D are relentless—some might say tediously so—in their pursuit of corruption, misrule and graft.

Their big guns, however, are trained on what they call the "permanent government," those who rule ("invisible and unelected") behind the scenes: bankers, insurance companies, law firms, judges, the public authorities, etc. One feels uneasy at their lumping together of the Rockefellers, Wriston (of Citibank), Shinn (of Metropolitan Life), Rifkind (of the powerful law firm of Paul Weiss, etc.), Rohatyn (of Lazard Freres), Regan (of Merrill Lynch), et al., with landlords like Ravitch, Lefrak and Marshall, clubhouse powers like Steingut, Esposito, Sutton, Manes and Cunningham and labor leaders like Van Arsdale and Gotbaum. And this sense of unease is not diminished by the way the points are made without documentation.

Still, their descriptions of particular escapades in the rape of New York—David Rockefeller's half empty World Trade Center, the Battery Park fiasco, the fleecing of the public by the powerful Consolidated Edison (a valuable self-contained chapter), the Yankee Stadium episode, and the clubhouse patronage system under the "temporary governments" of Mayors Wagner, Lindsay and Beame—these are all as fascinating as they are repulsive to those who still believe a better way is possible.

The authors reserve some of their most righteous indignation for patrician outsider, John V. Lindsay. (The latter's predecessor, Robert F. Wagner, is left off easy as a passive procrastinator while Beame is exposed and denounced for being the small-time clubhouse politician everyone knows him to be anyway.) The Lindsay's of politics, like the Robert Kennedys, can easily lead populists to be caught in illusions which, once dashed, leave bitter aftertastes. N & D show how Lindsay's national ambitions, along with his preoccupation for appearances, destroyed whatever chance he had to be an effective mayor. His handling of police corruption draws effective scorn, especially his failure to utilize the services of Serpico and Durk, honest cops who N & D regard as two of the few genuine heroes produced in the last 15 years of New York history. A separate chapter on organized crime shows how it is permanently and effectively integrated into the economic and political fabric of the city to the point of being "a separate permanent government."

In an author's note at the beginning of the book, Newfield and Du Brul reveal that work on this book began in February 1973. One surmises that the original intention was to focus on corruption and mismanagement. However, New York's dramatic flirtation with default since the spring of 1975 led to the inclusion of other material not always successfully integrated with the earlier research.

For a brief descriptive account of what happened, one can find no better source than their second chapter, "The true history of the fiscal crisis." They argue that the

Continued on page 20.

## Eurocommunism & The State

In These Times Chicago Associates will sponsor a lecture-discussion class based on "Eurocommunism and the state" by Santiago Carrillo, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Spain. The class will examine the policies and implications of Eurocommunism as they pertain to developed capitalist countries, especially the United States.

**Lecturers** James Weinstein, Editor M.J. Sklar, Associate Editor  
**In These Times**

**March 28** The State Versus Society

**April 4** The Ideological and Coercive Apparatus of the State

**April 11** The Model of Democratic Socialism

**April 11**

**April 18** The Historical Roots of Eurocommunism

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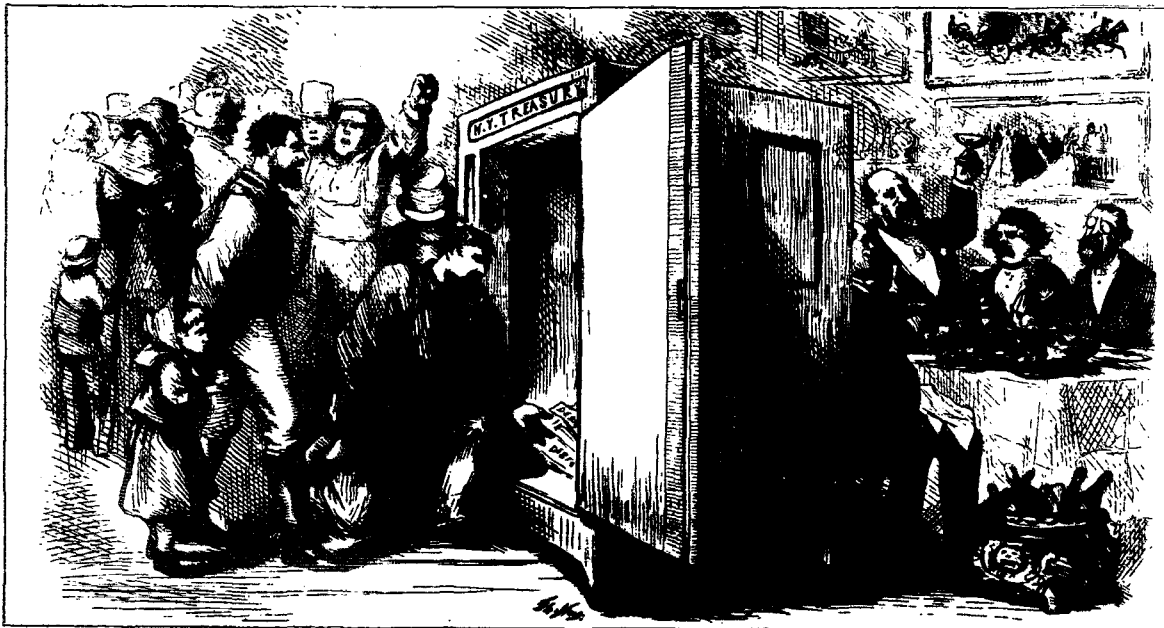
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## Fascinating and repulsive details of predatory power's rape of NYC

**THE ABUSE OF POWER: The Permanent Government and the Fall of New York**  
By Jack Newfield and Paul Du Brul  
Viking: New York, \$12.50

If you want a good journalistic account of predatory power in the service of personal and institutional wealth, Newfield and Du Brul give you page after page of fascinating description of legal graft, bank perfidiousness and clubhouse corruption as it functions in New York City.

Consider Ramon Velez, City Councilman from the South Bronx, whose control of 1,500 jobs and \$60 million of antipov-

erty and welfare state expenditures is used to line his pockets and those of his friends. Or Brooklyn Supreme Court Justice, Joseph Corso, who dismissed criminal indictments against four different Mafia defendants, all of which were unanimously reinstated by the Appellate Division. Or one Edgar Fabber, who in his capacity as Deputy Commissioner for Economic Development first negotiated a 99-year Staten Island lease with the United States Lines, which was accompanied by a generous outlay of \$71 million to build the shipping company a containerport. He then took leave of public sector employment to work at high-

er pay for Walter Kidde, parent of U.S. Lines.

The most moving description of corruption is provided by N & D's interview with Edwin Weisl shortly after he quit office as Parks Commissioner. Badgered by Beame's clubhouse hacks, by Matt Troy (county leader of Queens), and by Stanley Steingut (Democratic Speaker of the Assembly), Weisl was prevailed upon to hire sleazy incompetents at \$30 or \$40,000 per year. Weisl resigned after many of the 4,500 summer jobs intended for poor and minority kids were preempted by City Hall for its clubhouse minions while swimming pools in the South Bronx



## BOOKS

Continued from page 19.

deep recession unfolding in the fall of '74 provided the occasion and cover by which banks like Chase Manhattan could manipulate New York's difficulties to save themselves from the potentially catastrophic effects of loans imprudently extended during the previous boom.

They also attribute much of New York's decline to the unindicted co-conspirator. Nixon was the one, they say, who cut back programs like Head Start on which New York was dependent.

A major flaw of the book is that the authors never seem to make up their minds as to whether the fiscal crisis of New York should be attributed to external or internal forces. They argue, not unpersuasively, that editorial writers and politicians ignore the income side of the budget while calling for wide-spread cuts in expenditures. "In 1976 alone more than \$1 billion in taxes, fees and fines went uncollected." Realtors become tax delinquents because the penalties are less than the interest rates charged them for commercial loans. Although they concede that not every debt owed the city is collectible, they believe that billions were lost because no collection effort was ever made.

Most of what is written in this book clearly implies that the fiscal crisis would have never emerged had such tax practices, as well as the other patterns of corruption and graft not been

part and parcel of New York City life. But municipal misrule is an omnipresent feature of American life. Why Houston, Phoenix and Atlanta are not on the brink, while St. Louis, Detroit, Boston and Baltimore are, requires more analytical explanations than those offered here. Even on the narrower issue of unpaid taxes, there is the possibility that serious efforts at tax collection would be counter-productive since capital would respond by even more rapid flight.

It is no accident that N & D nowhere mention socialism as the ultimate answer to the problems they describe. In a final chapter they offer solutions: create full employment; federalize welfare; rebuild railroads; etc. Ending their list is a series of programs designed to end waste, ripoffs and legal graft. What is totally lacking is an analysis of the political forces needed to make the changes they advocate.

The authors' one concrete suggestion is that we study carefully the story of Co-op City, where a long, difficult "rent strike" was won against overwhelming odds. This struggle "points the way to effective resistance and perhaps survival."

But does it? In Co-op City every tenant was subject to a similar increase. Such unifying conditions do not exist in the city at large. Firemen, teachers or private sector workers seek to save themselves at the expense of others. And some succeed.

One can find in this book more useful data and more in-

formation on how America's premier city operates and, by implication, how all our big cities function, than what one gets from a lifetime of reading the *New York Times*. What is distressing about *The Abuse of Power*, besides its unwillingness to confront issues from a genuine

socialist perspective, is its lack of a clearly delineated analytical framework.

—David Mermelstein

David Mermelstein is co-editor of *The Fiscal Crisis of American Cities*, Vintage Press, 1977.

## FICTION

## American fiction strong on form, weak on content

Surveying American fiction at the present time can be a curiously somber experience. By way of analogy, consider the feelings of reasonably good-humored people going to the circus. It may be "fun," but don't we all outgrow our appetite for spectacle and pyrotechnics sooner or later? Just so with fiction.

Nowadays the great mass of American fiction seems more and more to pander to readers' weaknesses, instead of challenging their strengths. Modern marketing tends to adulterate most products under the guise of improving them—food, for instance. But the voyeurism, escapism, and philosophical somersaulting that fill most of the volumes currently available on drugstore and supermarket racks—to say nothing of "quality" bookstores—are symptoms of more disturbing

problems. Fiction can amuse or divert, teach or inspire. On happy occasions, a story may function in all these ways. But in the end, fiction like all art can do no more for us than stir our passion for truth. The primary function of a novel, said Henry James, is "to suggest thought." If this is so, then most current fiction fails, for it certainly provides little productive stimulus for thoughtful readers.

It has been asked: "Is the novel dead?" Hardly. However, good fiction today faces old challenges that have become even more complex. For one thing, people are swamped with the effects of other powerful forms of narration, such as movies and television. This can come to affect our patience with storytelling as well as our appreciation of it.

In addition, the fiction indus-

try has become a huge corporate business. Publishing, distributing, advertising—satisfying the "needs" of American readers—has become a science employing the last degree of not only capitalistic economics, but psychological and sociological analyses as well.

The American quest for a "good read" continues unabated. But as the glut of fiction clogs bookstores and libraries, it is easy for our senses to become dulled, and our judgment clouded. Despite what advertising media may imply, for example, fiction writers cannot be ranked like baseball players. Creativity is really not a game. The significant question in approaching fiction is whether our passions and principles remain "high or low," noble or ignoble. A couple of ancient criteria might be recalled as rules of thumb.

Man, as Aristotle said, is a political animal. If politics is nothing else, it is the study of the power that holds any society of social animals together. In this sense, it can be argued that every fiction writer is political to some extent. So something that might come to matter a great deal to a reader is the depth of a writer's understanding of this point.

"Political fiction" hardly means novels about Washington, D.C., or spy rings. A story is political if it stirs the reader to think and act—that is, compels readers to change themselves. For what else is it but such changes that eventually alters the "institutions"

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**DR. ANNETTE T. RUBINSTEIN**, author *ATTICA 1971-1975, THE GREAT TRADITION IN ENGLISH LITERATURE*, editorial board *SCIENCE & SOCIETY, JEWISH CURRENTS*, is speaking on the West Coast April 19-May 2. Suggested topics: American Theater from Waiting for Lefty to Waiting for Godot; Marriage in the English Novel; Reclaiming Our Stolen Classics; Realistic Ethics in Shakespeare. Groups wishing to arrange lectures please write 59 W. 71 St., NY, NY 10023, or phone (212) 724-3233.

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**KANSAS CITY AREA READERS**—In These Times Associates is sponsoring a discussion of "What Really Happened in Houston—an IWW Report" Wed., March 29 at 7:30 pm at the Foolkiller, 39th and Main, KC, MO. \$1 donation requested, free child care. **WATCH THIS SPACE FOR MORE ON KC ACTIVITIES!**

**SOUTHERN AFRICA: INTERNATIONAL DEFENSE AND AID FUND FOR SOUTHERN AFRICA** has books and info., e.g.: *Women Under Apartheid*, Soweto, Zimbabwe: The Facts, Poets to the People. Also *FOCUS*, journal on political repression. Write Box 17, Cambridge, MA 02138.

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## PERSONALS

**CORRESPONDENCE WANTED**—I am a prisoner at the James River Correctional Center, State Farm, Va. Arthur Shelton 106334, JRCC Infirmary, State Farm, VA 23160.

**I AM PLANNING** to write some political reminiscences about The Shelter Half Coffee House. I hope that some of the GIs who passed through there in 1969-1971 will get in touch. Trust me, I won't treat you like Loose Change. Write to Barbara Garson at In These Times.

**OUR EYES MET** outside the Film Forum (the Chile film). I was wearing yellow boots and an orange poncho. You were selling IN THESE TIMES. It was just a glance and a smile (I was with someone else.) But if it meant something to you too, write to Stephanie, Box 6, In These Times.



## BOOKS

that make a society what it is, such as the family, marriage, labor, law, education? The best political writing is on the other side of the spectrum from propaganda or adventure stories.

Secondly, as opera is a fine art dedicated to the human voice, literature—no matter what its “sociological” effects—is dedicated to language. Flaubert’s dictum that “any sentence should be like a line of poetry, unchangeable” may seem unreasonable in our Age of Noise. But while no one today might commit to memory a worthy novel like Morris’ *The Works of Love* (as Flaubert’s friends did for the *Education Sentimentale*), that doesn’t imply that a classic reverence for language is dead.

Indeed, simple language and narrative presentation can always yield truth if the author is profoundly inspired. For American writers today, this is their greatest challenge and should be

their article of faith.

In these respects, the books of John Cheever and Wright Morris stand out. With both writers, what James called a style that communicates “the importance of moral quality” imbues the fictional creation with a resonance no other medium can approach. Writers like John Updike and Larry McMurtry also persevere, while Bellow, Heller, Percy, Gardner, and Doctorow struggle perhaps too awkwardly with their visions. Kosinski explores dark nights of the soul, and I.B. Singer exhibits the spirit of a religious life in a unique fashion. Toni Morrison’s *Sula* is a novel that would grace any American’s shelf. Any of these writers will stir the imagination and conscience.

Today the author who would transform *angst* into action is the serious artist with his ear to the ground, as well as his eye on history. Stories must not lecture—

propaganda pollutes fiction just as “pulp” topics do. Much American fiction is too concerned with weak-kneed themes and with “technical achievements” of expression, encyclopedic reportage, and sideshow exhibitionism of the unusual to beef up “content.” An overt concern with “technique as discovery” will always dilute the genuine power of the story. As Georg Lukacs wrote in a critique of both “bourgeois” and “socialist” realism: “Content determines form. But there is no content of which Man himself is not the focal point. However various the *donees* of literature) a particular experience, a didactic purpose), the basic question is, and will remain: what is Man?”

—Peter Bohan

*Peter Bohan teaches English at the University of Illinois Circle Campus in Chicago.*

## Rachel and her creator are just as bourgeois as the neighbors after all



Sylvia Tennenbaum

**RACHEL, THE RABBI'S WIFE**  
By Sylvia Tennenbaum  
William Morrow and Co., N.Y.,  
1978, \$9.95

I have a friend who “does hair,” as they say. Most of his customers happen to be Jewish. His favorites are the “Beverly Hills Shirleys”—women whose hair he dyes lighter in front than back. (Generally speaking, Beverly Hills Shirleys are also partial to super long, deep red fingernails and big cars. They get upset if the hairdresser gets sick and can’t do their hair that week.)

Sylvia Tennenbaum sees versions of BHSe in the Long Island suburb where her husband is rabbi. They are scattered through her first novel, *Rachel, the Rabbi's Wife*, like rice at a wedding: Golda Garfinkle, a Barnard girl whose ambitions have settled into “being a good wife and mother as well as a good Jew”; visiting rebbetzin Hadassah Kleinholz, who exhorts the women to “Think Jewish!...embroider Jewish, crawl Jewish and needlepoint Jewish”; would-be feminist Michelle Shulman Halprin, who recites

poetry from lilac stationery.

Tennenbaum tells us how Rachel herself just can’t fit in. (“Whatever she wore was touched by her contrariness.”) Her long skirts, floppy hats, capes, African robes, jeans and Guatemalan shirts are endlessly detailed by the author, who breaks the fashion rules herself by wearing a sweater, levi shirt, jacket (with pens clipped on pockets) and cap for her back-cover photo. This studied bohemianism only tells us that both Rachel and her creator are as clothes-conscious as their silent majority neighbors. Tennenbaum gives the game away by telling us, seriously, that Rachel’s pea jacket comes from Bonwit Teller.

Rachel sees no contradiction in lining the stairwell of her two-story house with posters of Lenin, Malcolm X and Che Guevara. She is a radical in the kitchen too. Tennenbaum writes approvingly of Rachel’s table, with its fresh-ground coffee (from a small French grinder), juice from fresh oranges, challeh and sweet whipped butter and Mexican honey. No plastic foods for her!

Something else, too, sets Rachel off from the suburban masses. She is an artist. She views everything as a scene from Vermeer or Cezanne, depending on the light. Her mind wanders above Sisterhood gatherings “(like one of Chagall’s figures) above the roofs of the village.” Artistic similes abound, put often in such self-conscious parentheses.

Rachel feels she has never fulfilled the “promise” of her youth. All the bar mitzvahs, services, meetings take time away from her work. She barely has a few hours here and there to make collages and sketches, or to travel into New York City to look at paintings, “searching, *seeing*.” She says the women’s movement helped her to define her ambitions, but it seems only to have given her something else to complain about.

Many people feel uncomfortable with their lives, but Rachel knows exactly what’s wrong with hers. “But then—and she could not pinpoint the moment when it happened—she had looked at her work and decided it deserved a better place in her life. Perhaps the life she had made was *not* irrevocable.” Too bad Tennenbaum didn’t write more about this. That process of discovery would have made a more interesting novel.

Though they think they have escaped the clutches of conformity, Rachel and her author are not so very different after all. Rachel’s interests (clothes, food, sports, art) are just as bourgeois as her neighbors’, despite how she and Sylvia see it. Their problems, even when well described, are not exactly fresh material: suburbia (an easy target), wandering husband, career vs. woman’s “role” and artist vs. everybody else.

In this book there is another role to fulfill as well, that of rabbi’s wife. This and the Jewish setting do add some dimension and originality. But not much.

—Pamela Feinsilber

*Pamela Feinsilber is a free-lance writer in Los Angeles.*

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## BOOKS



Alix Kates Schulman

Jill Krementz

## The women's liberation movement is the central source of suspense

### BURNING QUESTIONS

By Alix Kates Schulman  
Alfred A. Knopf, \$8.95

*Burning Questions* starts off as a merely intelligent and craftsmanlike novel. It's the first person story of a girl from Indiana who comes to Greenwich Village in the '50s to be a part of the scene, a part of history. Between bearded poets and routine typing jobs, she has a medium rough time of it. Admitting temporary defeat, she marries a lawyer who, in a concession to her-bohemian pretensions, settles her into a brownstone overlooking Washington Square Park.

Having turned her back just long enough to have her babies, she looks out her window one day to discover that "people who only yesterday would have hesitated to sign their names to a personal check were handing out leaflets and daisies."

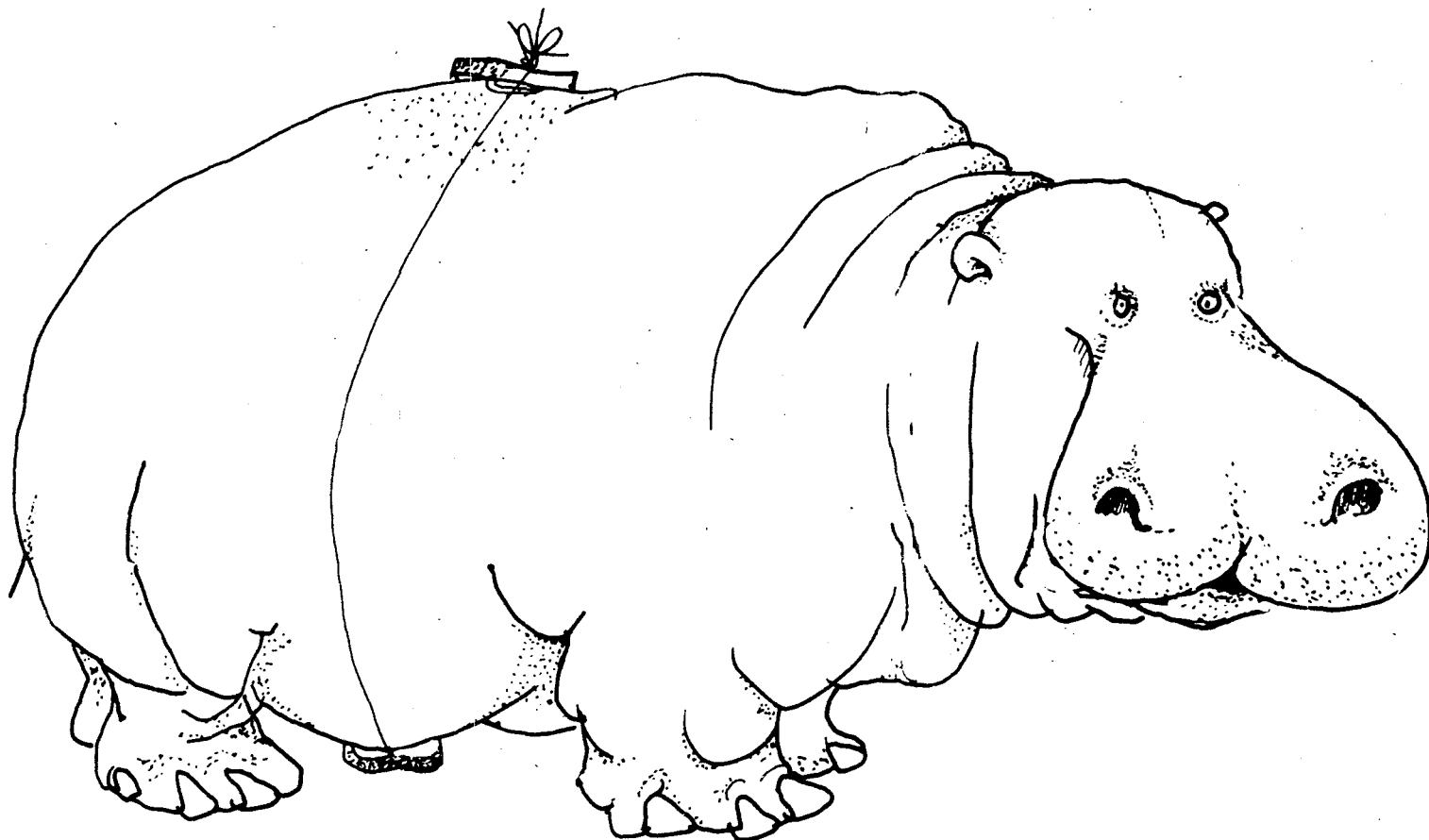
Zane, the narrator, (later called Zane IndiAnna) is a rather self-centered or self-conscious young lady, embarrassingly concerned with her image—how to appear appropriately cool, or hot, to the men in her life. The solipsism of the main character, along with what I believe is a real fault in the writing, means that no other characters are well developed, though some are rather amusing

and accurate sociological "types."

But if Alix Schulman is weak on character, she is strong on suspense and marvelously skilled at incorporating ideas into the plot of her novel. Believe it or not, the central source of tension in *Burning Questions*, the plot element that will keep you turning pages, is the anticipation of Zane's ultimate discovery of "the movement."

This is engineered through the presence over the years of a mysterious red-headed chess player, who crosses Zane's path at well-plotted points, though never a word is exchanged in 17 years. (I don't think I will spoil the suspense if I reveal that in the

## Recommended reading for the young



### Recipe for a Hippopotamus Sandwich

A hippo sandwich is easy to make.

All you do is simply take  
One slice of bread,  
One slice of cake,  
Some mayonnaise,  
One onion ring,  
One hippopotamus,  
One piece of string,  
A dash of pepper—  
That ought to do it.  
And now comes the problem...  
Biting into it!

Illustrations/Shel Silverstein

#### WHERE THE SIDEWALK ENDS

by Shel Silverstein  
Harper & Row

Poems and drawings  
Funny

#### THE MARCH OF THE LEMMING

by James R. Newton,  
illustrated by Charles  
Robinson  
Thomas Y. Crowell Co.

Educational and exciting

#### CHARLIE BROWN'S FIRST & SECOND SUPERBOOK OF QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS about the earth and space...from plants to planets

Edited by Hedda Nusbaum  
Random House

Brief answers; interesting  
and unique

#### WHY AM I DIFFERENT?

by Norma Simon  
Albert Whitman & Co.

Being different is good

#### TALES OF A 4TH GRADE NOTHING

by Judy Blume  
Dell Yearling Book

Paperback

#### FIREGIRL

by Gibson Rich  
Feminist Press

Non-sexist, excellent

#### I HAVE A SISTER/MY SISTER IS DEAF

by Jeanne Whitehouse  
Harper & Row

Gentle

#### THE WAY WE LIVED, a Photographic Record of Work in a Vanished America

Martin W. Sandler

Beautiful for older 5th and 6th graders

#### ABC WORKBOOK

by Jean Mangi  
Feminist Press

Non-sexist

#### MY MOTHER THE MAIL CARRIER/MI MAMA LA CARTERA

by Inez Maury  
Feminist Press

Bilingual

#### I'M LIKE ME

by Siv Widerberg  
Feminist Press

Unconventional poems

#### STORYPACK

edited by Merle Froschle  
Feminist Press

5 intriguing stories dealing  
with divorce, sexism,  
bodies, feelings, etc.

#### ALBERT'S TOOTHACHE

by Barbara Williams  
Dutton

Listening to each other

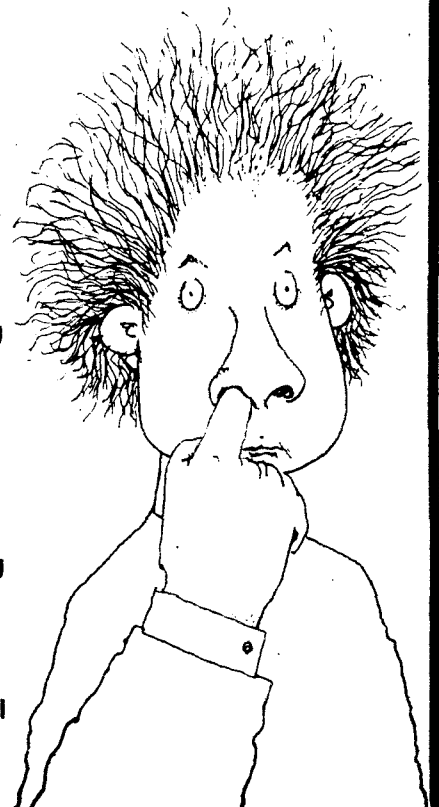
#### A CHOCOLATE MOOSE

Written and illustrated by  
Fred Gwynne  
Dutton

Take-off on parents' slang

—Karen Morrill

Karen Morrill teaches in an alternative school in Chicago.





## BOOKS

and the important woman Zane meets is herself.)

As I read the novel, I frankly dreaded the moment when Zane would finally meet the movement. Having tried myself to dramatize the exhilaration of this kind of involvement, I feared the writing would reduce itself to inarticulate gasps and forceful, but ineffective, pronouncements. It turned out exactly the opposite. From a merely well-made novel, *Burning Questions* rises (at a few points, at least) into an inspired novel through Zane's total commitment to the women's movement.

In the most brilliant chapter, Zane, full of doubts but having already arranged for the baby sitter, wanders into an early meeting of the Third Street Circle, roughly equivalent to the Red Stockings. There the other women feed hungrily on the most ordinary details of her life as a wife and mother. The most confusing and embarrassing elements in her past suddenly make sense as the group feels its way towards a theory of "oppression."

The scene—each woman exposing her secret life—is shown

elliptically, like the most effective love scenes. Eyes meet, arms encircle, lips touch and the curtain goes down. We are awakened from this night of love by an FBI informant's report—the icy, clinical description of the same passionate meeting.

Zane becomes a militant feminist. We accompany her to the Miss America pageant in Atlantic City. And we dash back to the getaway car after spray-painting, "Death to Male Supremacy" on the women's entrance to the Harvard Club.

Despite her new militancy and new busyness, Zane never doubts the inherent rewards of motherhood. It is, I suppose, Alix Shulman's failure as a novelist that she is unable to incorporate the children as characters. Instead she has to stop the story to remind us, in a little lecture, that children are born not only demanding, but lovable.

The current co-option of the movement is epitomized in a "publisher's luncheon" in which Zane is being asked by a formerly anti-feminist male editor to write a book of "firsts": first woman astronaut, first wo-

man cabinet member, first woman jockey.

"First hangwoman," she thinks, "first Pope."

I'm quite certain that *Burning Questions* will be trashed in the *New York Times*. (I suppose that's what you get for trashing the Harvard Club.) And probably by a woman reviewer who believes liberation means a full professorship for herself. There was a time when that wouldn't have mattered, a time when we had our own means of communication and made our own best sellers. (And *Burning Questions* is at least as well written as Shulman's best-selling *Memoirs of an Ex-Prom Queen*.)

But since our own channels are jammed with static, our air waves just beginning to be cleared by papers like *IN THESE TIMES*, I feel it's my responsibility to let you know, no matter what you read in the *Times* or *Newsweek*, you'll love *Burning Questions*.

—Barbara Garson

Barbara Garson is the author of *All the Livelong Day: The Meaning and Demeaning of Routine Work*.

—the men, the union, the company and the events leading up to the Great Steel Lay-off—with the world in which he grew up: the campus revolutions of the '60s.

"I think the deepest needs of my friends here (in the mills), the things that require radical changes, are the same kind of unclear things that once made me want to wear long hair and raggy clothes, that made me rebel against the Vietnam war and ask the most basic questions about my own life."

Packard also writes well and his book/essay leaves the worker/reader with something to ponder.

Staughton Lynd's book is designed "to help you deal more effectively with the law when the law is against you, and to get more accomplished when the law is on your side." Lynd, who was a distinguished American histor-

ian until he was blacklisted for visiting Hanoi on a peace mission, is now a labor lawyer in Ohio and a regular columnist for *IN THESE TIMES*.

He has used his considerable talents not only to put complicated matters in simple, accurate terms, but also to organize his little book for maximum usefulness. His afterword is eminently worth repeating:

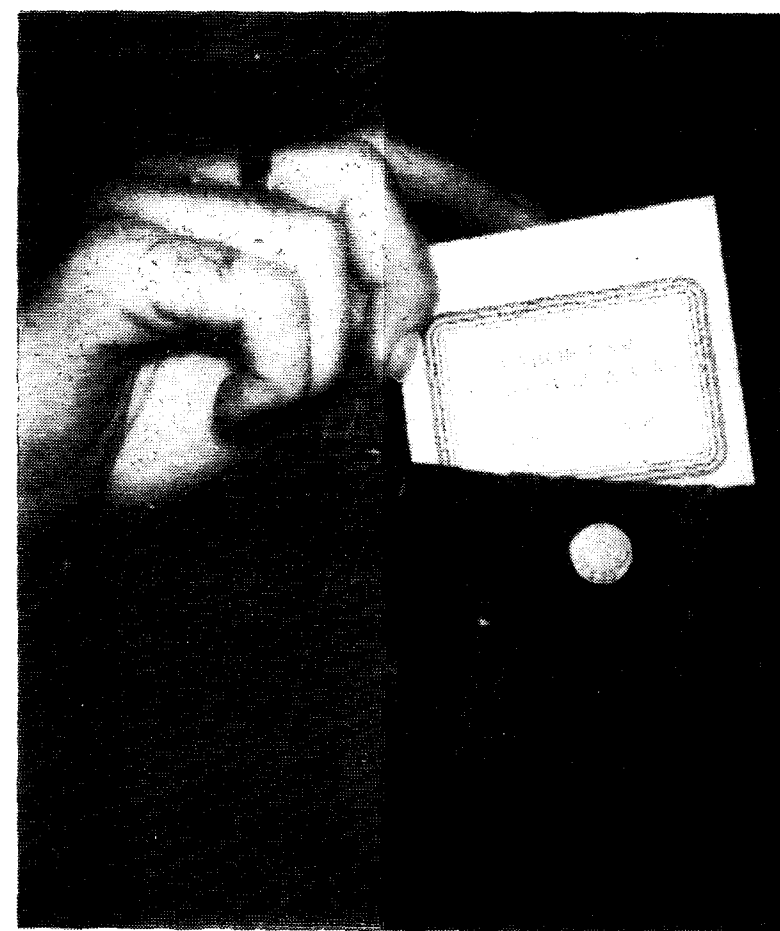
"The best way to think of the law is as a shield, not a sword. The law is not an especially good way to change things. But it can give you some real protection as you try to change things in other ways."

Singlejack Books may be ordered from the publishers at Box 1906, San Pedro, CA 90733. Their next projected publication is about telephone workers.

—J.S.

## NON-FICTION

### A brave new venture in the tradition of Haldeman Julius' little blue books



Ken Firestone  
**LONGSHORING ON THE SAN FRANCISCO WATERFRONT**

By Reg Theriault, 32 pp., 75¢

**STEELMILL BLUES**

By Steve Packard, 32 pp., 75¢

**LABOR LAW FOR THE RANK & FILE**

By Staughton Lynd, 64 pp., \$1.50

One piece of good news in the gloom dark world of publishing is the appearance of a new line of small—really small!—books put out by Singlejack, a new small press in San Pedro, Calif.

They are in the tradition of the Little Blue Books, published by Haldeman Julius (editor of the *Appeal to Reason*), which were

printed in Girard, Kan., and sold for a nickel in the 1920s and '30s. There were hundreds of titles. The list included everything from philosophy to "how-to-do-its," authors from Karl Marx to Louisa May Alcott and Marie Stokes to Victor Hugo. They could be bought singly, or by subscription to a series, and the venture was so successful that it can be said to have provided self-education to the American working-class of its time.

The Singlejack Little Books are the same size, better made, higher priced (even considering inflation), and have a slightly different perspective. Here is the publishers' statement of purpose:

"We are all starved for images

of ourselves, for identity and for aids to communicate the condition of our lives and the good in them. But the millions who do the so-called unskilled, semi-skilled, craft and even professional jobs in America's workplace are seldom if ever represented fairly in the popular literature and media of the nation.... Thus, the value of the contribution made by a majority of the citizenry is robbed of visibility and recognition.

"The Singlejack Little Book effort is primarily directed at the publication of writings about work...written by the people who are doing it...and to writings designed to provide ideas that working people will find of practical use..."

"The shape and size of Singlejack Little Books is determined by the ease with which they fit into work shirt, blouse, apron or pants, and skirt pockets and purses."

Another note explains the term "singlejack" as derived from the jargon of hardrock miners in the American west and later from that of IWW organizers who "used it to describe that method of organizing where dedicated advocates are developed one at a time on a highly personalized basis—as between partners."

The first two Singlejacks are highly personalized accounts of work done by the writers. Reg Theriault has been on the San Francisco waterfront since 1959—long enough to see the industry transformed (but not reformed) by automation. He writes well and the material is absorbingly authentic.

Steve Packard, author of the book about the steel mills at Gary, Ind., was in them for only six months, observing while he worked and comparing the scene



### Most ambitious upfront political comic in years

**COVER-UP LOWDOWN**  
By Jay Kinney and Paul Mavrides  
Rip-Off Press, San Francisco

Does the left have a sense of humor? Is it possible that the "underground comix" of the '60s brought forward any major satirists to the disillusioned '70s? Lots of folks who once had grand hopes for a New Left "counter" culture would be inclined to roll their eyes and moan at these questions. But not Jay Kinney. He wants to prove that radicals can be serious about their tasks without deserting either the cultural heritage of the '60s or their ability to laugh at themselves.

Still in his 20s, Kinney is an old hand in the comix field. His own series of books, *Young Lust*, is among the most durable in a field of fly-by-night publications. By Kinney's own lights, that has been a platform for a radical and feminist critique of existing sexual standards and their reproduction in "love" comic books and pulp magazines. If the results have been mixed, Kinney's own good intentions are not in doubt. He has been working in a political vacuum, finding his own way during ideological hard times.

*Cover-Up Lowdown* is the most ambitious, upfront political comic in years. Half reprints from a series of Kinney and Mavrides syndicated in college and com-

munity papers, *CULD* is replete with spiritualist messages from J. Edgar Hoover, a Total-World-Conspiracy Moebius Flow Chart and two lengthy tales mocking (or is it vindicating?) our own paranoid conspiracy-consciousness.

Occasionally, but only occasionally, the joke wears a little thin. Mavrides and Kinney have, at their best, uncovered the truest source of humor—the need to laugh so as not to cry—and have thereby moved beyond the light humor of the television celebrity roast, beyond the heavy-handed pathology-for-its-own-sake of the *National Lampoon*.

*Cover-Up Lowdown* is not only for the left. Its mixture of comedy and political critique has a wide potential audience, and may yet serve as a proto-type for a socialist agitational form to get the message across to millions as the printed word alone cannot do.

—Paul Buhle

Paul Buhle, publisher of the one-shot *Radical American Komiks* (1970), now edits *Cultural Correspondence*, a left popular culture and humor magazine.

Copies of *Cover-Up Lowdown* can be obtained for 95¢ plus 30¢ postage from Rip-Off Press, P.O. Box 14158, San Francisco, CA 94114.



## BOOKS

# Great Soviet goalie on hockey as it is played there and here



## THE HOCKEY I LOVE

By Vladislav Tretiak with  
V. Snegrin, translated by  
Anatole Konstantin  
Lawrence Hill & Co., Westport,  
Ct., 1977

In the fall of 1972 all-star hockey teams from Canada and the Soviet Union met in an extraordinary world-class competition. For the first time the finest players of the USSR faced instead of the customary Canadian amateurs, superbly talented professionals of the National Hockey League.

It was supposed to be no contest. North American hockey buffs granted that the Soviets were finely conditioned and displayed excellent team work but thought they lacked players with the individual brilliance of an Esposito or a Cournoyer. Also their goaltender was believed to be too young and inexperienced to turn aside the Canadians' booming shots.

The experts were wrong.

The USSR won two and tied one of the first four games played on Canadian soil. Team Canada redeemed itself by winning the final three games, all played in Moscow, all decided by one goal, all among the best games ever played. The Soviets had established their presence, and the shape of world hockey was irre-

versibly changed. (Since then Canadian pros have met the Soviets in five series of which the Soviets have won three. Contests between the best Canadian and Soviet players now appear to be a permanent part of the hockey season.)

At the center of the Soviets' remarkable efforts was Vladislav Tretiak, the 19-year-old goaltender whose experience and ability had been questioned in 1972. It was Tretiak, playing with intense concentration and the agility of a gymnast, who offset the Canadians' attacking skills in 1972, and it was a mature Tretiak who anchored the Soviets' eventual victories, earning praise as one of the finest goaltenders in the world.

Tretiak's brief autobiography, *The Hockey I Love*, recounts some of the highlights of those games. More than this, it is a portrait of a dedicated and often self-effacing athlete—motivated, not by the lure of an extravagant contract, but by national pride and competitive zest.

Tretiak focuses on the years from 1974 to 1977 though he also writes of his youth and the rigorous training regimen he followed. A student at Moscow's Institute for Physical Culture, Tretiak is deeply serious and astutely intellectual about sports in gener-

al, goaltending in particular. His writing at times is stiff and slightly pious. This may be the fault of the translation, or it may reflect a stereotypical Soviet earnestness. But this drawback is more than compensated by Tretiak's honest criticism of himself, his teammates (like the cocky Boris Alexandrov), and the Canadians' hockey style. The contrast between Soviet and Canadian hockey styles, I suspect, will be that part of the book that most appeals to the hockey public.

Soviet hockey, as Tretiak describes it, is precise, controlled, and highly disciplined, marked by the use of short, crisp passes, constant puck movement, and intricate offensive patterns. On attack, the Soviets carry the puck deeply into the offensive zone, passing up long or poorly-positioned shots to wait for the best possible opening. The emphasis is always on speed, teamwork, and passing.

Canadian pros play a more individualistic and free-wheeling game. In recent years, the quality of passing has sadly deteriorated, and they have been content simply to shoot the puck into the offensive zone. One player then tries to outskate or outmuscle the opposing defenseman, to feed the puck in front of the net or back to the points. This style of play re-

quires sharp physical contact and long slap-shots. It makes up what it lacks in finesse with rugged fore-checking and spirited play. It is not inherently "dirtier" than the Soviet style, but the extra physical contact does lead to more fights. (Hockey fights are highly ritualized and rarely lead to serious injury.)

In my opinion, the Canadians have much to learn, or more precisely relearn, from the Soviets. I am not convinced that the Canadian style is "unimaginative," as Tretiak claims, nor hopelessly brutal. The stress on hard physical play is rooted in the history of North American hockey and continues to attract legions of loyal fans. It is unlikely that the precise and technical Soviet style would have anywhere near the same popular appeal. But the roughness of Canadian play has its legitimate critics. Some Canadian pros play the game like "schoolyard bullies," and Tretiak has a right to apply that label. When frustrated and beaten, too many Canadian players exceed the bounds of sportsmanship.

Tretiak, however, does not answer the Canadian claim that the Soviets retaliated with covert spearing and butt-ending, practices considered by Canadian hockey ethics far worse and far more dangerous than hard checking and even direct fighting. And I still cannot bring myself to accept Tretiak's interpretations, shared by many, of the Soviets' 1976 loss to the premier bullies of the national Hockey League, the Philadelphia Flyers. I have no love for the Flyers, but on that night they played with atypical restraint and beat the Soviets because of superior discipline and patience.

These disagreements, however, did not detract from my enjoyment of the book nor my admiration for Tretiak. *The Hockey I Love* should appeal, not only to hockey fans, but to a wide reading public.

—Gary Kulik

Gary Kulik has been a hockey player and is presently a graduate student.